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The official task of the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance was to determine if racial imbalance exists; if it exists, to determine if racial imbalance is educationally harmful; and if harmful, to recommend ways of eliminating it.

In answer to the first aspect of this committee charge, a school census in March, 1964 revealed that racial imbalance, or a ratio between Negro and other students in public schools which is sharply out of balance with the racial composition of the society in which Negro children study and serve, did exist in Massachusetts schools. The census showed clearly that Negro children in Massachusetts attend predominantly Negro schools while the overwhelming majority of white children attend schools that are either all white or have fewer than five non-white students.

Conclusions of the Advisory Committee also stated that racial imbalance represents a serious conflict with the American creed of equal opportunity and is detrimental to sound education in several ways. First, racial segregation has a powerful and injurious impact on the self-image, confidence, motivation, and school achievement of Negro children. Secondly, separating is harmful to all children, white and non-white because it breeds ignorance , fear, and prejudice. Thirdly, it often produces inferior educational facilities in predominantly Negro schools. It also presents an inaccurate picture of life to both white and Negro Children and prepares them inadequately for a multi-racial world. Finally, segregated schools impair the opportunities of many Negro children to prepare for professional and vocational requirements of our technological society. Specific recommendations of eliminating racial imbalance in five Massachusetts cities are outlined.

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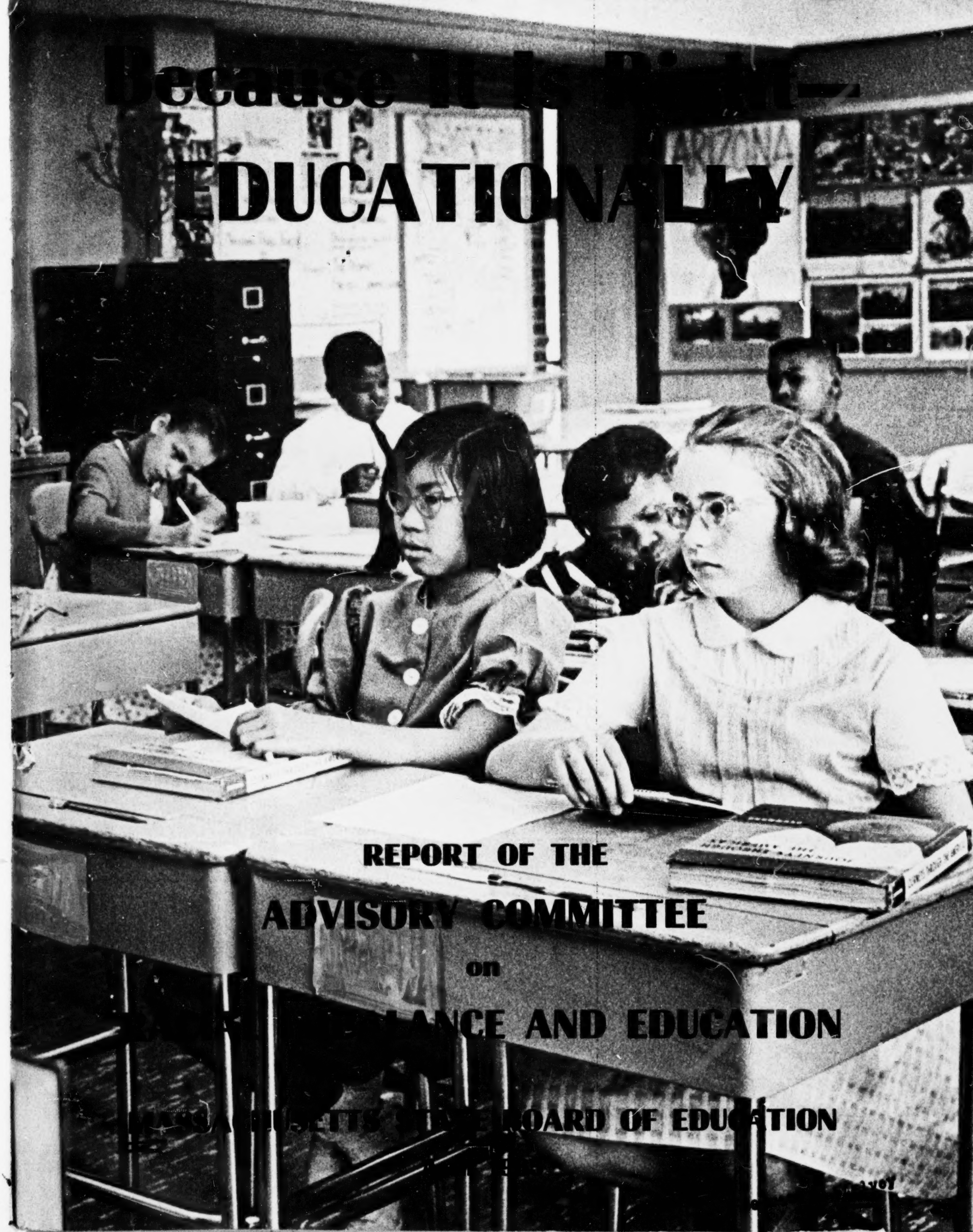

Because It Is Right—
EDUCATIONALLY

REPORT OF THE
ADVISORY COMMITTEE
on
RACIAL IMBALANCE AND EDUCATION

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Report

of the

Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education

* * *

Appointed by

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

PART ONE

April, 1965

ED001117

The Board of Education and the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education express their gratitude to the Permanent Charities Fund for the generous donation which has financed this study, including the printing and distribution of this Report.

COVER PHOTOGRAPH

"Operation Counterpoise" — Boston Public Schools

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Dr. Nils Y. Wessell, President, Tufts University

Task Forces of Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education

TASK FORCE ONE

Dr. Jack Childress, Dean, School of Education, Boston University, *Chairman*, July, 1964 — March, 1965

Dr. Franklin Patterson, Director, The Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, *Chairman*, March, 1964 — July, 1964

Dr. Thomas J. Curtin, Deputy Commissioner of Education, Massachusetts

Dr. Lawrence Fuchs, Professor of American Civilization, Brandeis University

Dr. Patricia A. Goler, Chairman, Department of History, Lowell State College

Dr. Herold Hunt, Eliot Professor of Education, Harvard University

Mr. Allie W. Scruggs, Senior Supervisor in Education (Compensatory Services), Massachusetts Department of Education

TASK FORCE TWO

Staff Representatives from Massachusetts Department of Education

Mr. Raymond S. Dower, Director, Division of Research and Statistics

Dr. Franklin P. Hawkes, Director, Division of University Extension

Dr. Everett G. Thistle, Director, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education

Dr. Thomas J. Curtin, Deputy Commissioner of Education, *Chairman*

CONSULTANTS

Dr. Roderick McPhee, Harvard Graduate School of Education

Dr. Raymond Ostrander, Boston University School of Education

Dr. Harlan Philippi, Boston University School of Education

Mr. Harvey Pressman, Tufts University

Dr. Stephen F. Roach, Boston College School of Education

Dr. Frank L. Sweetser, Boston University College of Liberal Arts

FOREWORD

In recent months there has been an increasing awareness of serious problems affecting our system of education. Not the least of these is the question of racial imbalance. With sister states across the nation, Massachusetts has felt the impact of controversies which are associated with this major human relations issue. Following recognition of the problem, citizens may choose to adopt a "head-in-the-sand" attitude and attempt to ignore it, or they may face the issue squarely and seek defensible solutions. This Commonwealth chose the latter course.

Under the leadership of the State Board of Education, an Advisory Committee and two Task Forces were chosen to launch a comprehensive study. The membership was comprised of experienced leaders in the fields of religion, government, business, industry, labor and the several professions. It is doubtful if a more distinguished membership could be found anywhere in America. Over the past twelve months they have given unselfishly of their energies and talents. This report speaks eloquently of their efforts.

Simply stated they found that imbalance does exist in some of our communities and that its effects are harmful. No evidence was found that school authorities had in any way created imbalance. The causes extend well beyond the perimeters of the school and its adjacent playground. The members agreed unanimously, however, that responsible school officials have both a professional and moral duty to correct imbalance whenever and wherever it is found. To this end the report incorporates suggestions which we believe are educationally and administratively feasible. We stand ready to assist any and all communities in the implementation of the several recommendations.

The Chairman and members of the Board of Education share my grateful appreciation for the significant contributions of the Advisory Committee, the Task Forces, the Permanent Charities Fund, and all who have assisted in this most important state-wide project.

OWEN B. KIERNAN
Commissioner of Education
Commonwealth of Massachusetts

April 1, 1965

APPROVAL OF REPORT

The undersigned approve the accompanying committee report:

Mrs Bruce B. Benson

John M Burgess

Erwin D. Canham

Harold C Case

Ernest R. Beverly

Richard Cardinal Cushing

H. Bruce Ehrmann

Carl J Gilbert

Edward E Goodwin

Oscar W. Haussermann

Thomas M. Hennessey

Asa S Knowles

Francis E Lavigne

John S. Laws

Ralph Lowell

Edward J McCormack Jr.

Caroline J. Putnam

Herbert E. Tucker Jr

Michael P. Walsh, S.J.

Lewis H Weinstein

Mrs Y. Wessell

INTRODUCTION

In March, 1964, the State Board of Education and Dr. Owen Kiernan, Commissioner of Education, asked this Advisory Committee to make a thorough, independent study of racial imbalance in the public schools of the Commonwealth. Our charge was 1) to determine if racial imbalance exists, 2) if it exists, to determine if racial imbalance is educationally harmful, and 3) if found harmful, to recommend ways of eliminating it.[1]

We decided that this task required a painstaking review of the research and literature on this subject, direct study and observation of the schools, thoughtful consideration of all available evidence, and, most important, a fresh effort by educational experts to develop new approaches, new ideas, and new solutions to whatever problems were found to exist.

Aided by a grant from the Permanent Charities Fund, and with the co-operation of scholars, educators, and school administrators, we have completed that task.

Because of its complexity, our assignment has taken a full year to complete. Each conclusion and each recommendation has been weighed, evaluated, and reevaluated by members of the Advisory Committee. With profound conviction, we now put forward our conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions.

The March, 1964, school census revealed that there was a predominantly non-white population in fifty-five schools (forty-five in Boston, eight in Springfield, one each in Medford and Cambridge) and some trend toward racial imbalance in one Worcester school. This census showed clearly that most Negro children in Massachusetts attend predominantly Negro schools while the overwhelming majority of white children attend schools that are either all white or have fewer than five non-white children enrolled.

We are thoroughly convinced that students attending predominantly Negro schools are denied equal educational opportunity. Racial imbalance is harmful also to white children.

We believe that integrated education means better education when it is planned carefully and implemented decisively. When it is supported by a program of educational enrichment that upgrades the learning experiences of all children, it is even more effective.

We believe that the achievement of integrated education is feasible. Educationally sound and practical methods of achieving school integration are available.

We are convinced that the combined efforts of far-sighted political, educational, and civic leaders can rapidly eliminate racial imbalance from the schools of our Commonwealth.

In the following pages, we reaffirm and expand these conclusions of the Committee, initially published in our Interim Report of July 1, 1964, and summarize the reasons underlying these conclusions. We discuss some of the more common misconceptions about school integration; and we conclude with a comprehensive and detailed set of recommendations.

---

[1] Throughout this report the term "racial imbalance" refers to a ratio between Negro and other students in public schools which is sharply out of balance with the racial composition of the society in which Negro children study, serve, and work.

CONCLUSIONS

In drawing conclusions, we have been guided solely by a desire to improve educational excellence for all children. We have defined this goal as the fullest possible development of the potential of each pupil, coupled with the fullest preparation of each pupil for his rights and duties as an American citizen.

Our conclusions are clear. Racial imbalance represents a serious conflict with the American creed of equal opportunity. It is detrimental to sound education in the following ways:

— It does serious educational damage to Negro children by impairing their confidence, distorting their self-image, and lowering their motivation.

— It does moral damage by encouraging prejudice within children regardless of their color.

— It presents an inaccurate picture of life to both white and Negro children and prepares them inadequately for a multi-racial community, nation, and world.

— It too often produces inferior educational facilities in the predominantly Negro schools.

— It squanders valuable human resources by impairing the opportunities of many Negro children to prepare for the professional and vocational requirements of our technological society.

It is imperative that we begin to end this harmful system of separation. The means are at hand. Each day of delay is a day of damage to the children of our Commonwealth.

The Damage to Negro Children

Educators and social scientists have produced a large body of evidence documenting the conclusion that racial separation has powerful and injurious impact on the self-image, confidence, motivation, and the school achievement of Negro children.

It is not difficult to understand why racial separation is harmful to Negro children. Outside of the school the Negro child and his family too often have heard the message, "Keep out, stay back, you are not wanted." He and his family have too often been made to feel different and inferior. The racially imbalanced school reinforces that feeling.

Inside the school, the young faces are almost all black. The older faces — those of the teachers, the ones in charge — are mostly white. Does the child wonder why only black children go to this school? A child cannot comprehend the subtle difference between illegal segregation in the South and racial imbalance in the North. He sees only that he is Negro and almost all his schoolmates are Negroes.

The separation of some children "from others of similar age and qualification because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

These eloquent words of Chief Justice Earl Warren, reporting the unanimous opinion of the United States Supreme Court, summarize in a few phrases the impact of racial separation on the Negro child.

Other Effects of Separation on Negro and White Children

We have found that racial imbalance is educationally harmful to all children, white and non-white, because separation from others leads to ignorance of others, and ignorance breeds fear and prejudice.

Studies have shown that fear and prejudice cripple the creativity and productivity of white children as well as Negroes. In our Commonwealth, white children rarely have an opportunity to meet Negro children as individuals. Their thinking often becomes stereotyped. Negro children growing up in ignorance of white persons as individuals, also tend to develop a distorted and fearful picture of all whites. The deep feelings of separation engendered by a background of slavery and segregation produce a chain reaction of suspicion and hate, limiting the intellectual and emotional development of these children.

The Urgency of the Problem

Today in Massachusetts 20,000 non-white children are attending predominantly non-white schools. The education of many children is compromised and their future jeopardized. The lives of children are too precious to tolerate delay.

That racial imbalance was not contrived with malice does not free us of the obligation to end it. That racial imbalance in schools derives from segregated housing does not diminish the damage done to the education of children. While we cannot solve all the problems of a segregated society by action in the schools, we believe it is possible to solve the problem of segregated education by action in the schools. Through the schools we can begin to break the vicious circle of poor education, poor jobs, poor housing, and to end the conditions which have deprived Negroes of equality of opportunity.

Some Common Misconceptions

We have given serious consideration to the major objections that have been raised with respect to integrating schools. Although we understand the feelings which give rise to these objections and the sincerity with which they are advanced, our studies — including conversations with school officials and Negro and white parents — convince us that these objections are based on misconceptions and misinformation. Below we list some of the most common of these objections in the form of questions together with our answers.

Don't Negro Children Have Less Scholastic Aptitude Than White Children?

Responsible educators and social scientists are in agreement that there is no evidence of differences in intelligence between races. Given equally favorable circumstances, Negro children have shown that they can learn as quickly as white children.

Shouldn't Negro Children Stay in Their Own Schools and Better Themselves Like the Children of Other Ethnic Groups? Why is a Negro School More Harmful Than an "Irish" or "Italian" or "Jewish" School?

This is a specific example of the general question: "Why cannot Negroes overcome disadvantages in the same way that other immigrant groups have?" Upon examination, the superficial similarity between the condition of Negroes and that of immigrants is greatly overshadowed by the differences.

The Negro child who sits today in an all-Negro classroom is not an immigrant; he may be a tenth or twelfth generation American. Negroes have not been treated as immigrants. They have been treated first as slaves, then as second-class citizens, fitted only for what was second best: the jobs white men despised, the tenements white men had worn out, the schools white men had abandoned.

History teaches us clearly why the Negro has not achieved equality in America as have the Irish, the Italians, the Jews. Only Africans, among all groups, were deprived of their cultural heritage. Only they were legally forbidden to marry. Only their children were taken from their parents to be bought and sold.

The other groups, possessing a cultural heritage of their own, wanted to preserve it. For them, separation often meant protection; for Negroes it signified oppression.

As early as the second and third generation, descendants of immigrants not marked by color difference could climb over the walls of prejudice. Negroes, even to the tenth generation, have been denied access to opportunity by the very color of their skin.

In the context of this history, a Negro school, unlike a predominantly "Italian" or "Jewish" school, is stamped with the mark "second best" that is traditionally attached to any institution reserved for the Negro.

If Some Negro Children Do Badly in School, Is it Not Because of Poverty Rather Than Segregation?

Poverty is a significant impediment to quality education, and schools in poor white districts are also producing inadequately educated children.

Our study shows that, above and beyond the detrimental effects of poverty, racial imbalance itself has a harmful effect on the educational process, particularly for Negro children. The Negro child from a low income family is subject to a double penalty, based on both his poverty and his color.

Wouldn't Compensatory Education[1] Be More Helpful Than Racial Integration in the Schools?

Compensatory education is vitally necessary if we are to enlarge the lives and capacities of all disadvantaged children, white and Negro. Racial imbalance and poverty are both harmful to the education of children.

Compensatory education programs can help to overcome the effects of poverty on schooling, but not the effects of racial imbalance. The effects of racial imbalance are so damaging that they cannot be counterbalanced by compensatory education programs alone.

Compensatory programs cannot by themselves help Negro children to overcome society's affliction of racial prejudice and discrimination. For them, compensatory education and racial balance are both vital to quality education.

Isn't Open Enrollment the Answer to Racial Imbalance?

Open enrollment — a procedure to enable children to enroll in schools outside of their immediate neighborhood when space is available — can be an important part of the process of school integration, and one of our recommendations calls for the strengthening of existing open enrollment programs.

Open enrollment alone cannot achieve school integration. Relying on open enrollment places the responsibility for school integration on the uncoordinated actions of thousands of parents, rather than on the planned actions of the schools themselves. We believe it is the responsibility of school authorities to take positive action to achieve the racial balance necessary for equality of educational opportunity.

Won't The Education of White and Negro Children Suffer Following School Integration?

Studies have shown that when integration was accompanied by a clear explanation of its meaning to teachers, parents, and children, and by special programs designed to facilitate the transition, even white children who had resisted integration continued their studies without impairment. Leadership is important. Where it is decisive, imaginative, and sensitive, white and Negro children make substantial gains in achievement as a result of integration.

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[1] Supplementary services such as remedial reading, counseling, and tutoring.

Won't Racial Balancing Inevitably Destroy the Neighborhood School?

The neighborhood school is a general term that is used loosely to cover vastly different situations. We should consider what kind of school neighborhood is best in terms of size and of composition.

The American public school has often brought together children of different classes and ethnic groups into one classroom as a vivid lesson in democracy. We are convinced that this value must be restored to the neighborhood school and, therefore, that many school neighborhoods must be both enlarged and thoughtfully bounded. In this way, the neighborhood school, which might then be more accurately spoken of as the community school, would act as a force to unite our children rather than as a barrier to separate them.

Changes are made in the neighborhood school every time a district line is redrawn for reasons of overcrowding, and every time rural towns join together to provide a consolidated school with better facilities and curriculum than each town could afford separately. These changes are made because the positive gains to be achieved are obvious and important.

The sizes and shapes of districts served by neighborhood schools vary tremendously, even within a single city. There are schools with fewer than 200 pupils, all of whom come from within a radius of a few blocks. In some suburbs, so-called neighborhood schools serve an area larger than some small townships.

In many school systems, children with special needs — mentally retarded, highly gifted, or handicapped children — are sent to school away from their own immediate neighborhoods. Parents who seek special values in schooling, such as religious training, do not hesitate to send their children to private or sectarian schools outside of their immediate neighborhoods.

The recommendations in the next section will reveal how, through increasing the size of school districts, selecting school sites, and making some revisions in grade organization, the basic values of the American public school are retained and strengthened in a manner consistent with the highly important goal of higher quality racially balanced education.

Summary of Answers to Most Common Questions Concerning Racial Balance in the Schools

We have carefully examined the seven most common and major objections to racial balancing in the schools. We hope that our answers will receive thoughtful consideration from all citizens in the Commonwealth.

- Negro children, given effective education in racially balanced schools, have the capacity to perform as well as white children.
- The ethnically imbalanced schools which immigrant groups have known are not comparable to the racially imbalanced schools of Negroes because the history of Negroes is fundamentally different from that of other groups.
- Negro children are at a disadvantage in school not only because many of them are poor, but *also* because their schools are imbalanced.
- Compensatory education, however helpful it may be, is not *the* answer to racial imbalance. It should be part of a program for higher quality racially balanced education.
- Well conceived and administered open enrollment plans can help reduce racial imbalance, but cannot be considered as the answer to racial imbalance. At

best, they put the burden on many parents who are unprepared to make choices and relieve school authorities of a responsibility which is properly theirs.

- Racial integration will improve the education and welfare of white and Negro children when accompanied by creative leadership, by clear explanation to parents and teachers, and by special programs designed for quality education.
- Racial balancing will enhance the best values of the neighborhood school. It will extend the neighborhood and community to reduce prejudice, foster creativity, and promote democracy.

John F. Kennedy defended the principle of equal opportunity on moral grounds: "Because it is right." We support the recommendations and suggestions which follow because they are right, *morally* and *educationally*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of racial imbalance is the responsibility of all citizens in the Commonwealth. Each of us, including the members of this committee, can do more than we are now doing to help heal this most serious wound in American society.

It has not been our province to investigate the many causes of racial imbalance in the schools. Our task has been to make recommendations to deal with the existing problem of racial imbalance regardless of cause.

In making these recommendations and suggestions, we have tried not to be dogmatic. This is not an educational blueprint. These suggestions are not definitive or exhaustive. They can and should be improved and modified by others.

We also realize that changes such as we recommend will present administrative and fiscal problems in connection with their adoption. WE WANT TO EMPHASIZE OUR BELIEF THAT THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS ADVANCED BELOW ARE EDUCATIONALLY DESIRABLE AND ADMINISTRATIVELY AND FISCALLY FEASIBLE.

The recommendations are divided into eight parts. First, we deal with those things which many cities and towns in the Commonwealth can do working either on their own or in co-operation with state and federal authorities. These we call "General" recommendations. Second, we make recommendations for state authorities only. These recommendations, which require new legislation or action under existing legislation by those authorities, we call recommendations for the "State". The next five in the series of recommendations are for the individual cities of Boston, Springfield, Cambridge, Medford, and Worcester. Finally we recommend the creation of a citizens' committee which will strive to implement these and other recommendations designed to eliminate racial imbalance. Our recommendations are stated in outline form. They are augmented, when needed, in the Appendices by background explanations and detailed suggestions.

We firmly believe that the destructive and profoundly divisive problem of racial segregation is a serious threat to our democracy. We firmly believe that school authorities throughout the Commonwealth have the responsibility for preventing and eliminating racial imbalance in the schools. We are hopeful that our recommendations will assist men and women of good will in that task.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. General (Cities, Towns, and State Authorities)

For education of higher quality through racial balance we recommend for state-wide action:

A. The improvement and expansion of teacher training programs for severely disadvantaged children and in the field of human relations education. (See Appendix IA for detailed suggestions.)

B. The expansion of opportunities for interracial learning experiences. (See suggestions in Appendix IB.)

C. The improvement and expansion of racially balanced compensatory educational programs. (See suggestions in Appendix IC.)

D. The obtaining of funds from many existing federal and private programs to facilitate higher quality racially balanced education. (See suggestions in Appendix ID.)

RECOMMENDATIONS

II. State

For education of higher quality through racial balance, we recommend for action by the state:

A. The passage of appropriate legislation providing for:

   1. Elimination by school committees of racially imbalanced school districts.

   2. Avoidance of racial imbalance in school building programs.

   3. Withholding of state aid to communities having racially imblanced schools. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

B. The passage of a law providing state funds to implement racial balancing in cities and towns. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

C. The appropriation of funds to increase the Department of Education's assistance to local compensatory education and racial balancing programs. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

D. Utilization by the Department of Education of federal monies to engage consultants on racial balancing. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

E. Support of elementary "educational parks" by the School Building Assistance Commission. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

F. Revision of state aid to education formula to help certain cities. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

G. Provision for state aid for racially balanced education to children under age seven. (See suggestions in Appendix II.)

RECOMMENDATIONS

III. Boston

Of the fifty-five schools in the Commonwealth which contained more than 50 per cent non-white in the Spring of 1964, forty-five were located in the City of Boston. At the time of the census, 23 per cent of the Boston public school enrollment was non-white but 50 per cent of these children — or 10,400 of them — were located in twenty-five elementary schools and three junior high schools having 81 to 100 per cent non-white enrollments. These statistics indicate something of the magnitude of Boston's problem of racial imbalance.

In fact, a significant part of the problem of racial imbalance in the Commonwealth as a whole is located in the City of Boston, since 59 per cent (21,097) of all of Massachusetts' non-white children attend Boston schools.

Although the problem of racial imbalance in Boston is not as complex as it is in several other large cities in the United States, it is more difficult than for other communities in the Commonwealth. Consequently, we have gone into considerable detail in making suggestions in the Appendices which follow the general recommendations below. These suggestions show what could be done and how it could be done, but they are only examples and are neither exclusive nor exhaustive. Other ideas or other combinations of schools might be equally or more effective.

Those recommendations are divided into elementary, junior high, and high school sections. The recommendations for junior high school and high school are for immediate action. Because of the magnitude and complexity of the elementary school situation, not all recommendations are made for immediate action. We attempt to explain in the Appendices the sequence and interrelationships of the recommendations made here.

For higher quality racially balanced education we recommend for the City of Boston:

Elementary Schools:

A. Changes in the present open enrollment policy. (See suggestions in Appendix IIIA.)

B. Changes in the program of compensatory education. (See suggestions in Appendix IIIB.)

C. The construction and location of new buildings according to the most modern concepts and along new attendance lines. (See suggestions in Appendix IIIC.)

D. The closing of some buildings in the Fall of 1965 and the transfer of students from these buildings to those which will be retained. (See suggestions in Appendix IIID.)

E. The exchange of students between other school buildings to be retained. (See suggestions in Appendix IIIE.)

Junior High Schools:

F. Changes in the assignment of students to junior high schools combined with compensatory education linked to racial balancing. (See suggestions in Appendix IIIF.)

High Schools:

G. Changes in the curriculum at Girls' High and the assignment of students at Latin and Technical High schools. (See suggestions in Appendix IIIG.)

RECOMMENDATIONS

IV. Springfield

For racially balanced education we recommend for the City of Springfield:

A. Combining elementary school districts. (See suggestions in Appendix IVA.)

B. Revising existing elementary and junior high school district boundaries. (See suggestions in Appendix IVB.)

C. The selection of sites, outside the present areas of heavy Negro residential concentration, to replace existing elementary and junior high school buildings. (See suggestions in Appendix IVC.)

D. Racially balanced compensatory education programs for severely disadvantaged elementary school children. (See suggestions in Appendix IVD.)

E. Modifying the present open enrollment policy. (See suggestions in Appendix IVE.)

RECOMMENDATIONS

V. Medford

For education of higher quality through racial balance, we recommend for the City of Medford:

A. Reassignment of some pupils from the Hervey School and Brooks School. (See suggestions in Appendix V.)

B. Consideration of a mutual transfer of students between the Hervey and Brooks schools. (See suggestions in Appendix V.)

C. Consideration of grouping the Hervey, the Brooks, and Gleason schools into one attendance area. (See suggestions in Appendix V.)

D. A program of compensatory education for the Hervey and Brooks schools. (See suggestions in Appendix V.)

RECOMMENDATIONS

VI. Cambridge

For education of higher quality through racial balance, we recommend for the City of Cambridge:

A. The earliest possible replacement of the Houghton School. (See suggestions in Appendix VI.)

B. The redefinition of attendance areas. (See suggestions in Appendix VI.)

C. The adoption of an effective open enrollment policy. (See suggestions in Appendix VI.)

RECOMMENDATIONS

VII. Worcester

For education of higher quality through racial balance, we recommend for the City of Worcester:

A. A program of racially balanced compensatory education. (See suggestions in Appendices VII and IC.)

B. Periodic study of housing patterns to anticipate racially imbalanced school attendance areas.

RECOMMENDATIONS

VIII. State-wide "Ad Hoc" Committee

For the assistance and encouragement of school systems in the implementation of the foregoing, we recommend:

A. The creation of a state-wide citizens' committee. (See suggestions in Appendix VIII.)

B. Close co-operation between this committee, the State Board of Education, and interested school systems. (See suggestions in Appendix VIII.)

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

APPENDIX IA

The Improvement and Expansion of Teacher Training Programs

Background and Suggestions

All children who come from a background of poverty have special learning problems. All children, no matter what their economic, racial, or ethnic background, need education in human relations. Teachers must be given specialized training in both of these closely-related categories: instruction of the disadvantaged *and* intergroup education.

It is becoming increasingly apparent today that the same teacher who is effective in the suburban school will not necessarily also be effective in the impoverished city school. Teachers of disadvantaged children must meet different requirements if they are to be successful in teaching these students. The students *are* different, and the teacher who is not aware of these differences and who cannot cope with them will find his classroom experience frustrating and discouraging. Moreover, he will probably be just one more unfortunate episode in the lives of his pupils.

As educators have begun to recognize this fact, they have begun to meet the challenge by instituting new teacher training programs for teachers of culturally-disadvantaged youth. These can be conveniently broken into two categories: pre-service programs for those who are still graduate and undergraduate students in education, and in-service programs for those who have already begun teaching in a school system.

Marked attention to pre-service and in-service training programs has been given at the Schools of Education at Boston University and Northeastern University, and by Boston State College, Lowell State College, and the Filene Center at Tufts University. Particular attention is called to the new N.D.E.A. Institute for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth such as the one which will be offered at Tufts University, June 28 — August 13, 1965. Special reference is made in the Appendices to this report to local in-service programs provided for Boston and Springfield teachers by their respective school committees. An outstanding pre-service program offered outside this geographical area is "Project Beacon," sponsored by the Graduate School of Education at Yeshiva University in New York.

Other training programs of interest to teachers of disadvantaged youth which may have some value for Massachusetts school systems include those offered at Bank Street College of Education and Hunter College of New York; the Ravenswood Elementary School Project, Ravenswood, California; the Franklin School Internship Program, Madison, Wisconsin; the Co-operative Project in Teacher Education, Paterson State College and Paterson, New Jersey, Public School System; and the Human Potentials Project, Newark, New Jersey, State College.

These programs and those previously mentioned provide a wide variety of techniques including seminars, field trips, case studies, and direct remedial work. One of the most interesting developments has been the establishment of an Educational Resource Center which may include a demonstration classroom where several techniques can be utilized. Bank Street College of Education and the New York City Board of Education pioneered in this area under grants from the Field Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

Human relations education, including marked emphasis on interracial understanding, has been a long-time concern of many public and private agencies, institutions, and organizations in this Commonwealth. The mounting concern for improved human relations at home and abroad calls for increased efforts, particularly in the light of new research findings and the development of new methods and materials.

The Division of Civic Education in the Department of Education has fostered in-service teacher training courses in co-operation with several of the Massachusetts state colleges for several years. This division also publishes bibliographies, provides consultative services to local school systems, and, with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, makes available a special unit of study for secondary school pupils entitled "Discrimination — Danger to Democracy."

The Boston University Human Relations Center, the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship at Tufts University, the new Institute of Human Sciences at Boston College, and the Center for Field Studies at Harvard University are uniquely set up to assist school systems interested in studying interracial problems. Services are also obtainable at Northeastern and the University of Massachusetts, among other universities and colleges located in this state.

Among the many private agencies and organizations which assist Massachusetts educators in developing human relations instructional programs are the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston, and the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

Above and beyond these established services and resources which educators can and should utilize, it seems appropriate to enumerate, in heterogeneous fashion, the following trends or developments which are also most pertinent for educators, school committees, parents, and others to know:

a. The Massachusetts Department of Education, in co-operation with Tufts University and WGBH-TV, is applying for a grant under Title IV of the amended National Defense Educational Act to develop a degree credit television course for teachers entitled "Education and Race Relations," which presumably will reach all parts of Massachusetts at times convenient to them. It is hoped that a whole network of teacher training institutions will co-operate in the granting of degree credits for this course and thus broaden the base for hundreds of teachers. Filmed versions of these programs would be made available for viewing in other states and for reshowing in interested school systems.

b. The presidents of the Massachusetts State Colleges have voted to establish a faculty Ad Hoc Committee on Human Relations Education whose purpose shall be to enhance existing programs in this field.

c. The State Department of Education, by virtue of Chapter 650 of the Acts of 1964, is in a position to assist financially some pilot projects for disadvantaged children and youth which will strengthen teacher training and open up new opportunities for shared experiences. In both instances, children from minority groups will be direct beneficiaries of the projects. There can be little doubt that if, and when, The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is enacted by Congress, greatly increased resources will be available.

d. The vital area of new teaching materials for, and about, minority groups, considerably aided in this area by the experiments at the Filene Center for Citizenship at Tufts, will greatly expand in the near future and should be capitalized upon by all school systems of the Commonwealth, particularly the vast majority whose almost completely non-white populations need this enrichment.

e. Teacher education can be further improved by the development of more teacher exchanges of white and non-white instructors from urban and suburban schools. A meaningful start in this direction has been made in Arlington, Massachusetts, where special workshops have been planned to provide Negro teachers, white teachers of Negroes, and other white teachers, opportunities to discuss their feelings about "the Negro child in school." Boston and Arlington teachers are sharing in this unique project.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

APPENDIX IB

The Expansion of Opportunities for Interracial Learning Experiences

Background and Suggestions

Most white and Negro children in Massachusetts have been cut off from contact with each other to the detriment of the education and total development of members of both groups. White students who attend predominantly white schools in towns and communities which are almost entirely white cannot benefit from programs to improve quality education through racially balanced schools in the major cities. We believe that all schools in Massachusetts should seek to maximize the opportunities for integrated learning experiences for their students, particularly to improve their training for the duties of citizenship.

We suggest consideration of the following:

1. Under the leadership of the State Department of Education, in co-operation with organizations officially representing school committees, school administrators, institutions of higher learning, churches, social welfare agencies, and the lay public, develop a co-ordinated state-wide program designed to increase educationally meaningful experiences which bring together, on a voluntary basis, white and non-white children. Specific kinds of meaningful experiences (*some of which are already in existence*) which deserve attention and broadening include:

a. Camp programs focusing on human relations education, such as the Camp Tel Noar program sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

b. Summer School "Citizenship Education" programs, such as the Tufts University-Newton School Department experiment.

c. Short-term (weekend, school vacation, one-day) youth conferences providing for study and discussion of basic issues in citizenship including intergroup understanding. Examples: Massachusetts Department of Education Youth Citizenship Conferences, Northeastern States Youth Citizenship Conferences, Sharon "Operation Understanding" Conference, Bedford High School "Citizen's Conference."

d. Student Exchange programs tied to school curriculum and to extra-curricular features, such as music, art, science, industrial arts, civics and history, conservation, debating, physical education, dramatics, and economics. These may take the form of assemblies or joint visits to museums, parks, concerts.

e. Common learing experiences within the same community or nearby communities (with school committee approval) whereby paired classes of white and non-white pupils of approximately the same level of ability (grades four and up) go to each other's schools for a whole day on a bi-weekly or monthly basis to participate in common learning experiences in a mutually agreed on subject matter area such as history and literature; or science and mathematics; or music and physical education.

Example: Two sixth grade classes of approximately equal ability, one white and one non-white, located in different sections, may be studying essentially the same period in Massachusetts colonial history. Under this plan, one half of the pupils in the School A class will go to School B for a joint day of learning with one half of the paired class in this school. On the same day, the other half of the class from School B will go to School A for a joint program with the other half of its class. The day's activity can include class discussion, the showing of an historical film, a short play, and a visit to an historical site in the immediate vicinity, as well as the values gained from living and learning together in the lunchroom and playground.

f. "Junior Peace Corps" projects providing joint action programs to be performed by white and Negro children to meet the social welfare needs of others. Such programs could be conducted with the co-operation of the Commonwealth Service Corps or through "Operation Kindness" which is conducted by the School Bureau, United Community Services of Greater Boston, or by the "Citizenship-in-Action" Program sponsored by the Division of Civic Education of the Massachusetts Department of Education and the Massachusetts Secondary School Principals Association.

g. Interracial parent-teacher camp and workshop programs which focus on developing intergroup understanding such as the "Rearing Children of Good Will" program sponsored by the Northeast Division of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. (The next such weekly workshop will be held at Framingham this summer and will draw parents from the Massachusetts Congress of Parents and Teachers and the Boston Home and School Association.)

2. The utilization of competent Negro teachers in schools where there is a predominance of white pupils not only can bring the desired academic achievement, but also can result in significant changes in pupil attitudes. For these reasons, and to enhance equal employment opportunities, we encourage school committees to initiate special recruiting drives to attract more Negro applicants for teaching positions.

3. Communities in the Commonwealth should seek to make interracial learning a prime aim in the development of "supplementary education centers," such as those currently operated in Pittsburgh and Detroit or those proposed by President Johnson in his education message to Congress on January 13, 1965. (Also see Appendix IA on Education Resource Center.)

4. Curriculum changes: The curricular offerings in the Commonwealth schools should be adapted to include more academically sound courses dealing with racial diversity, the role of the Negro in American life, and of minority groups in American history, human relations, the civil rights movement, poverty in America, and similar issues. (Bibliographies relating to these points of emphasis are obtainable from the Division of Civic Education of the Massachusetts Department of Education.)

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

APPENDIX IC

Special Compensatory Education Programs Including Some Focus on Interracial Approaches

Background and Suggestions

With the growing awareness among educators of the special educational needs of disadvantaged youth, and with the development of new state, federal, and foundation programs providing funds for special compensatory educational programs for disadvantaged youth, a rapid growth of compensatory educational programs in the Commonwealth is anticipated over the next few years. With this trend in mind, we have sought to discover examples and models of programs which successfully provide compensatory education in an *interracial setting.*

As a result of our study, we make the following suggestions:

1. Summer educational programs, both for remedial and enrichment purposes, offer unique opportunities which match our aims. These programs draw from across neighborhood, town, and even state lines. Among the types of programs which might serve as models are:

a. Educational camps, such as those sponsored by Action for Boston Community Development at Agassiz Village in co-operation with the Boston Public Schools in the summer of 1964.

b. School-college programs in which students from junior and senior high school study on a college campus for the summer or for two or three successive summers. Among the Eastern colleges which sponsored such co-operative programs in 1964 were Brandeis, Dartmouth, Swarthmore, Rutgers, Yale, Princeton, Franklin and Marshall, Carnegie Institute of Technology, and several of the state community colleges of New York.

c. Programs developed at independent private schools for students at various levels. Interesting examples include the Educational Enrichment Program in the Greater Boston area (Belmont Hill, Shady Hill, Milton Academy) and the "Urban School" held at the Commonwealth School of Boston for inner-city and suburban youth. The Hotchkiss School (Connecticut) will begin a three year summer program in 1965.

2. Pre-School Programs: One rapidly spreading solution designed to overcome the initial learning handicaps of disadvantaged children before they enter the first grade is the compensatory pre-kindergarten or kindergarten program. Significant research efforts concerning the curriculum and other related problems affecting this age group has been done by Dr. Martin Deutsch of New York Medical College, and also at the University of Wisconsin. Model interracial programs are operating in Cincinnati (The "Co-operative Demonstration Day Care Project"), in San Francisco, in Berkeley, California, and in New Haven.

3. Elementary School Programs: Most elementary programs for the disadvantaged which are currently operating stress reading, cultural enrichment experiences, the development of special curricular offerings, and student motivation. Most of these efforts are concentrated in the regular school day, although after-school classes and special summer programs are increasing. The provision of interracial learning situations varies considerably.

Boston's "Counterpoise" program, which will be further commented upon in Appendix IIIB, has earned considerable attention. Other interesting efforts among Massachusetts school systems may be observed in Springfield, Holyoke, Chelsea, and Lawrence.

Research efforts at this level have been conducted by the Quincy, Illinois, Youth Development Commission, the Community Service Society of New York, and by the previously mentioned Bank Street Center, Bank Street College, and by the Ravenswood, California, Elementary School.

4. Secondary School Programs: The number of promising programs for disadvantaged junior and senior high school students here and in other states is quite large as has, in part, been indicated with reference to school-college summer relationships. Several Massachusetts secondary schools have reported excellent "Drop Out" prevention or salvage programs to the Division of Secondary Education in the State Department. Some, including Arlington, Sharon, and Waltham, have instituted experimental projects for the disadvantaged in which state reimbursement is being requested under Chapter 650 of the Acts of 1964.

The California and New York state departments of education also administer reimbursement programs for disadvantaged children and youth which involve considerable local participation. Project ABLE, conducted by the New York State Department, incorporates a wide scope of projects involving urban, suburban, and rural school systems. Information about these and about Massachusetts programs is readily obtainable from the newly appointed Supervisor of Compensatory Education in our State Department of Education.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

APPENDIX ID

Sources of Funding Assistance Relevant to the Study Commission's Findings

Background and Suggestions

Many, though not all, of the suggestions contained in this report require the expenditure of additional money by local school authorities. We have indicated below a number of possible outside sources of funding for the proposals contained in this report to supplement the expenditures of localities. It is our considered belief that the funding problems, like the problems of racial balancing, can be surmounted, if sufficient energy and commitment is dedicated to this task.

1. Federal Sources of Funds

a. The Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title IV of this act allocates $3,000,000 for assisting local communities with problems related to promoting racial balance in the schools. Although it specifically *excludes* support for planning the racial balancing of northern schools, it includes support for certain phases of the execution of plans devised under other auspices. Section 404 provides for training institutes for school personnel, to improve their ability to deal with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. Section 405 provides for grants to school boards for in-service training of teachers, or for employing specialists to advise on problems.

b. National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended by the 88th Congress, 1964. This act provides assistance to local school boards and local school teachers in a variety of ways. Relevant sections include:

(1) Title III — Financial Assistance for Strengthening Instruction in Science, Mathematics, Modern Foreign Languages, amended to include English, reading, history, geography and civics, for the acquisition of equipment, state supervisory services, in-service training in these fields, and so on.

(2) Title V — Guidance, Counselling and Testing, Identification and Encouragement of Able Students, amended to extend to all elementary grades, public junior colleges, and technical institutes. Institutes for advanced study to improve the qualifications of personnel.

(3) Title XI — Training institutes for personnel in English as a second language, teaching disadvantaged youth, reading, English, history, geography, school libraries, and educational media.

c. Vocational Educational Act of 1963 (PL 88-210). Includes support for vocational education work-study programs by the local school systems and other vocational education programs relevant to problems of disadvantaged youth, potential drop-outs, and so on.

d. Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Title II, Part A. Provides occupational training and basic literacy programs for people over sixteen and under the aegis of state employment services and local school systems.

e. Economic Opportunities Act.

(1) Title IB, Work Training Program (Neighborhood Youth Corps). To assist and encourage young men and women from sixteen to twenty-two to stay in school full or part time, or, failing this, to provide them with constructive and rewarding work experience in community service. Individual projects can be initiated by a school system and/or youth workers can be employed in the schools.

(2) Title IC, Work Study Program. This is an employment program for college and university students, who could be used as teacher's assistants, tutors in an after-school tutorial program, or such, by the schools.

(3) Title II, Part B, Adult Basic Education. For the establishment of education and literacy programs for hard-core poor adults over eighteen years of age. Grants are available to assist in the initiation of pilot projects by local educational agencies, to stimulate such projects as the development of new adult education programs.

(4) Title VI, VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program. Recruits, selects, trains and supports volunteers who are assigned at the request of local agencies. Could be used by schools in disadvantaged areas as aides to guidance personnel, for instance.

(5) Title IIA, Community Action Program. The most important section of the poverty program with regard to compensatory education, it provides financial support for local anti-proverty programs. Approximately 40 per cent of the total cost of community action programs already funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity has gone into education programs. Twelve pre-school programs, nine special education centers, five remedial reading programs, and five school social worker projects have already been supported. Educational projects already funded include:

- elementary summer school
- special remedial teachers in elementary basic skills
- extended school day
- cultural enrichment
- community school
- elementary school retention center
- education stimulus center
- reading materials institute program
- education survey
- auxiliary services for elementary children
- reception center for foreign speaking pupils
- student achievement center
- Saturday school
- group guidance program
- tutor and study center
- study-learning resource center
- home counseling for high school students and their parents

f. 1965 Education Bill. The Johnson education proposals for 1965 include many programs relating to the improvement of education in disadvantaged areas. Among these are:

- extra money for pre-school programs for disadvantaged youth
- aid to low income school districts
- books for school libraries and classrooms

— supplementary education centers

— university-community extension program

2. Other Sources of Assistance

The new Massachusetts Department of Education program for support of local compensatory education efforts (Chapter 650, Acts of 1964) will, hopefully, be augmented through the adoption of new legislation. (See Appendix IIB.) Any new state tax programs should, in our opinion, be linked with a massive expansion of state funds available for compensatory, racially balanced educational programs for the disadvantaged youth of the Commonwealth.

Foundation support for compensatory educational programs has also expanded greatly in the past two years, including support for efforts of public school systems (for example, Ford Foundation's million dollar program in the city of Pittsburgh). The Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation and Old Dominion Foundation, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, and several other major foundations have all supported educational programs for disadvantaged youths, each involving hundreds of thousands of dollars, in recent months. The Permanent Charity Fund, a Greater Boston foundation, made a grant to the Boston School Committee to finance a recruiting drive for new young teachers in the city's low-income neighborhood schools, in 1963-64, and has provided financial support for this study and report.

SUGGESTIONS: STATE

APPENDIX II

For education of higher quality through racial balance, we recommend for action by the state:

A. The passage of appropriate legislation with the following objectives:

1. To require school boards in the Commonwealth to review attendance areas as soon as practicable and to change or revise existing school zones to eliminate racial imbalance in the public schools;

2. To require local authorities to avoid imbalance in the construction, purchase, or other acquisition of buildings for school purposes;

3. To give the Commissioner of Education discretionary power to withhold all or part of state aid payable to cities, towns, and districts under Chapter 70 of the General laws if reasonable progress toward elimination of racial imbalance in schools of said cities, towns, and districts is not being made.

B. The passage of a state law which provides special Commonwealth funds for the implementation of compensatory education in connection with programs for racial balancing in cities and towns. Such legislation should also provide partial financial support for additional transportation services required in the implementation of racial balancing programs *.

C. The appropriation of sufficient funds to extend the Department of Education's program in compensatory education to provide information to cities and towns with respect to successful compensatory educational and racial balancing practices.

D. The retention by the State Commissioner of a group of consultants to assist local schools in coping with special educational problems occasioned by the implementation of plans for racial balance in the schools. Such consultants may be retained under Title IV, Section 403, of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to assist communities and towns in the implementation of desegregation programs.

E. A policy by the School Building Assistance Commission to use state building funds to promote elementary educational centers or clusters.

F. A revision of the state aid formula now used for distributing money for education to cities and towns to help Boston, Springfield, and other cities which need most assistance in solving the problem of racial imbalance.

G. A new state law to permit the Commonwealth to distribute state money for education to cities and towns for children under the age of seven to help implement proposals for racially balanced pre-school education.

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* California already has a state law which provides money for purposes of compensatory education, and the Board of Regents in New York has recommended state assistance for racial balancing and compensatory education programs in that state.

SUGGESTIONS: BOSTON

APPENDIX IIIA

Changes in the Present Open Enrollment Policy

Background and Suggestions

While we do not believe that an effective open enrollment system is a guarantee of equality of educational opportunity, it can help to facilitate a partial reduction of racial imbalance. Therefore, we suggest that the school committee consider modifying its present open enrollment policy so as to contain the following elements:

1. Any child will be permitted to move to a school which is less imbalanced than the one in which he is enrolled if space is available. Transportation should be provided by the school system when a child moves to a school which is 50 per cent or more of another race if this school is beyond reasonable walking distance. In determining the applicability of a request for transfer, school officials should give preference to those students enrolled in the most heavily imbalanced schools.

2. The availability of space will be determined by an administrator in the central office in consultation with the building principals. Equitable and uniform criteria will be used to establish the actual capacity of school buildings and availability of space in classrooms.

3. Lists of all open seats will be available in each local school, and the local school principal will assist parents in arranging transfers.

4. School authorities will take all possible measures to publicize the open enrollment system to parents of students in predominantly non-white schools.

SUGGESTIONS: BOSTON

APPENDIX IIIB

Changes in the Program of Compensatory Education

Background and Suggestions

Boston's compensatory programs can be divided into two categories: first, the experimental ABCD co-sponsored programs; and second, the "Operation Counterpoise" program by the city on the elementary level. In the near future, school-connected educational programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington may become a prominent part of the city's compensatory education efforts.

A proposal has been submitted by ABCD to the Office of Economic Opportunity to expand Boston's compensatory efforts. These programs must be approved both in Washington and by the Governor of Massachusetts upon the advice of the Commonwealth Service Corps. On February 11, 1965, the Commonwealth Service Corps Commission unanimously approved a resolution requiring that cities and towns submitting community action proposals "see that factors of racial segregation as a cause of poverty have been taken into consideration and that steps have been taken, wherever possible, to eliminate *de facto* segregation."

We have stated our belief that there is no conflict between compensatory educational efforts and racial balancing or that the two policies conflict with each other in any way. We believe that racial balance and increased educational excellence should be pursued simultaneously and many of the suggestions made below are intended to promote both.

With respect to ABCD programs, as soon as circumstances permit, we urge for consideration:

1. The expansion of the junior high school guidance program so that additional services are made available to Negro students.

2. The expansion of the pre-kindergarten program co-sponsored by ABCD in interracial classes located in adequate facilities. (See suggestions concerning pre-school classes in Appendix IC.)

3. The co-operation of Boston and ABCD in planning and constructing the new, experimental elementary school (the new Boardman School) to be built on Humboldt Avenue in Roxbury so that it will be an integrated rather than a racially imbalanced school. Transporting students on a voluntary basis from a neighboring, predominantly white district, or exchanging students from the new school with those from a predominantly white school would appear to be effective methods of achieving the goal of higher quality racially balanced education.

4. That the afternoon, after-school remedial and development reading programs co-sponsored by ABCD for students in four elementary and three junior high schools (Howe, Mackey, Lewis Annex, Brooks, Campbell, Edwards, Dearborn) should draw on students across district lines so as to make them interracial programs.

With respect to "Operation Counterpoise" we urge that as soon as resources are available the following modifications of existing programs be considered:

1. The organization of Junior grade I "Readiness Class" and the Junior grade IV "Operating Recap" (for students who have already failed once during the first three years of schooling) should be across district lines to promote racial balance and not within districts as is presently the case.

2. Enrichment experiences such as glee club, field trips, and assembly programs can be made interracial and enhanced by using volunteer assistants under the Common-

wealth Service Corps.

3. The development of Counterpoise into an all-day Neighborhood School Program which could include after-school club programs, special instructional work with small groups of children, closer work with parents, and a summer program organized across district and racial lines. (See Appendix IC.)

4. A special program for the most able disadvantaged elementary students organized across district and racial lines comparable to Boston's Advanced Work program for fifth and sixth grade students.

5. We also believe that the city's compensatory programs (non-ABCD) should be extended to the junior high school level as soon as possible.

SUGGESTIONS: BOSTON

APPENDIX IIIC

The Construction and Location of New Buildings According to Most Modern Concepts Along New Attendance Lines

Background and Suggestions

For years, there has been general agreement among experts that many of Boston's elementary schools are unsuitable for higher quality education, and that they should be closed and replaced immediately. The Massachusetts Education Study Commission Report issued in December, 1964, recommended the immediate elimination and replacement of all schools over 65 years of age. The report also suggested that schools over 50 years of age should be replaced as soon as possible. In another report entitled "Report on the Schools of Boston" prepared by consultants from Harvard University in 1962, a strong emphasis was placed on the need for immediate replacement of the most rapidly deteriorating of Boston's elementary schools.

Typical of the comments made about buildings in the 1962 Harvard report were the following:

The Bancroft School

> The Bancroft School is a small structure that has had some renovation in recent years. The Bancroft, however, should not be considered suitable for use for an extended period of time.
>
> The interior construction, the stairs and stairwell are made of wood, thus the structure is basically non-fire resistive. The exterior of the building is cracking, deteriorating and in need of repainting. The window sills and frames are rotting. The classroom walls are cracking, show evidence of leakage and need of painting. In addition, the building has no provision for special facilities.
>
> The Bancroft shares a site with the Rice School which has already been abandoned for public school puposes.

The Bates School

> To expend the funds necessary to upgrade this building (Joshua Bates) seems unwarranted. The school system would still have a 78 year old, Type IV structure with wooden stairways, no special facilities and a capacity of only 250. The Bates has numerous other deficiencies. The school grounds are small and need re-surfacing. The exterior of the building is deteriorating and needs repainting; the window sashes and frames are rotting; the classrooms are drab and in need of paint and the toilet facilities require a great deal of renovation. Provisions for a health room are insufficient, and specialized facilities desired in a modern school are completely lacking. Furthermore, the basement floor has settled considerably, indicating a possible unstable condition of the fill beneath the building. It is recommended, therefore, that the use of the Bates School be discontinued as soon as other planning considerations will permit.

The Everett School

> The Everett has had a long history of honorable and hard service in the Boston school system, however, it no longer provides the structural standards suitable for a modern school. The exterior sandstone trim is crumbling and flaking and the window frames are rotting. Much of the interior shows signs of dampness,

especially the dark basement. The ventilation in the toilet rooms is not sufficient to dispell lingering odor trapped by damp and porous floors.

While the heating system has been modernized somewhat, by the installation of automatic oil burners, the plumbing remains obsolete. Artifical ventilation is non-existent in the building. Most classrooms have sub-standard lighting as a result of inadequate artificial lighting combined with badly spaced windows which provide little natural light.

The Hyde School

Toilets are located in the basement, a considerable distance from the classrooms and are dark, ill-ventilated and difficult to keep clean. Playrooms adjacent to the toilets are also ill-lit, dirty and unsuited for recreational activities while the outdoor playground area is exceedingly small. These defects taken together suggest that Hyde should be replaced soon.

The Quincy School

One of the oldest public school houses in America and the oldest in Boston still in use, the Quincy School was a pioneer. It was the first American public school in which children were arranged by grades. It still serves its neighborhood after more than a century of use, but its facilities, as compared with the facilities of the modern pioneer schools of today, are minimal.

In an area of the city in which children have few play areas except the street, the Quincy School can offer little more. The building itself evinces its age. Floors are sagging, split and worn; window sashes are loose and rotten; interior walls and ceilings are cracked and show evidence of leakage. The lighting is poor even on sunny days. Sub-standard toilets are located in the basement and the porous floors retain dirt and odors. The boilers are hand-fired with coal. Except for a shop, there are none of the special educational facilities available to many other children throughout the United States and elsewhere in Boston. Considerations for retention of this structure because of its historical associations must depend on another economical use for it; it cannot justifiably remain as a burden on the school department.

The worst school buildings are often the most seriously racially imbalanced. The five schools described above presently range in imbalance from approximately 99 to 65 per cent Negro.

Of the thirty-five schools which now enroll 60 per cent or more Negroes, twenty-seven were built before 1914. Twenty-three of those schools were recommended for immediate abandonment in the Harvard report. Recent Boston school superintendents, including the incumbent, have recommended formally to the school committee that at least twenty-one of these schools be closed. (See Table IIIC-1.)

The poor condition of most predominantly Negro schools necessitates and facilitates a vigorous program to achieve racial balance. We agree with others who have studied the problem that the temporary modification and improvization of essentially unfit school buildings is extremely harmful to the cause of quality education. We believe that action should be taken to implement a program of school closings and replacements beginning in September, 1965. The schedule of recommended closings, which has been seriously delayed, should now be accelerated.

We recognize that the achievement of long range city-wide integration depends, to a marked degree, upon the size, location, and attendance areas designated for new schools.

We believe that larger elementary school buildings should be constructed to give all students the advantages of the most modern teaching methods and the most flexible facilities and relieve the pressure for adequate classroom space quickly.

Larger schools can also facilitate racial balance by drawing from a multi-ethnic and interracial community. This type of larger school can quickly become *the broader neighborhood school*, appropriately described by John Fischer as "The Inclusive School."[1] This new version of the neighborhood school could provide those richer academic opportunities and those personal and group contacts among children of all races which are needed to prepare them adequately for individual excellence and for citizenship.

The larger school building serving the larger school district would also make it possible to maintain racial balance even with some shifting of population since the zoning for larger attendance could be fluid. Such schools could be subject to modification without affecting the attendance patterns of the vast majority of children.

Larger schools might be located in urban renewal areas which would further reduce the cost of building to the City of Boston by providing federal subsidy for new buildings.[2] Such units may be developed as *Educational Parks* which incorporate several structures to be used as school and community recreational areas. In addition, the school facilities could be developed for adult educational activities.

While all deteriorated schools in Boston should be replaced quickly, *we urge that priority be given to new construction in and around the non-white areas of the city.* We believe that by implementing this suggestion and those which follow we would bring an end to the problem of racial imbalance in Boston and also facilitate higher quality education by providing buildings which would enable Boston to achieve modern and flexible educational programs:

(1) The location of new schools as close as possible to boundaries between white and non-white areas;

(2) The development of each new elementary school other than those already on the planning board should be constructed to accommodate an enrollment capacity of no less than eight hundred children;

(3) The placing of new schools in urban renewal areas to obtain the assistance of federal funds under the Federal Redevelopment Program;

(4) The drawing of attendance zones sufficiently large to enable school administrators to maintain racial balance even with some shifting of population.

[1] See Part Two

[2] Although we believe that the objective of racial balance should be considered in choosing new school sites, this factor might not be the controlling element in every situation. The present recommendation of the Boston Redevelopment Authority for new schools in the South End and Washington Park areas of the city calls for the construction of buildings of approximately the same size and approximately the same areas as existing schools. The replacements recommended in the report of the South End Renewal Committee of October 5, 1964, would perpetuate racial imbalance unless the new housing plans for the South End were to be interracial.

TABLE IIIC-1

ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WITH HIGH PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE CHILDREN, 1964

N.B. All references to racial balance figures and percentages are based on gross school figures from the March, 1964 census and are approximations only.

KEY:

"W" indicates number of white children enrolled.

"N.W." indicates number of non-white children enrolled.

"% N.W." indicates percentage of the total registration which is non-white.

Recommendations of the 1962 Harvard Report.

Recommendations of the Boston School Superintendents.

"X" indicates recommended for replacement.

School	Enrollment *W.*	Enrollment *N.W.*	Enrollment *Total*	*% N.W.*	*Year Built*	*Rec. Harvard Study*[1]	*Rec. Superintendents*
1. Lewis Annex	o	59	59	100	1901	x — 1963	x — main bldg. remodeled
2. Hyde	3	324	327	99.1	1884	x — 1966	x — combine Everett-Sherwin
3. Everett	3	256	259	98.8	1860, 1914	x — 1966	x — combine Hyde-Sherwin
4. Asa Gray	4	285	289	98.6	1877	x — 1966	x — combine Dudley-Bacon
5. Wm. Boardman	3	194	197	98.5	1900	x — 1964	x
6. David Ellis	10	631	641	98.5	1932, 1959	x — 1964 expand site	
7. Phillips Brooks	11	625	636	98.4	1900	x — 1970	x — replace
8. H. Higginson	6	314	320	98.1	1922	Renovate & expand site	
9. Ira Allen	4	195	199	98.1	1901	x — 1963	
10. Julia W. Howe	8	402	410	98.0	1868 1927	x — 1964	x — replace Add Lewis

TABLE IIIC-1 (Continued)

	Enrollment			%	Year	Rec. Harvard	Rec. Super-
School	*W.*	*N.W.*	*Total*	*N.W.*	*Built*	*Study*[1]	*intendents*
11. David Ellis Annex	4	148	152	97.6			To be abandoned
12. Quincy Dickerman	12	474	486	97.5	1915	x — 1965	x — replace
13. J. J. Williams	4	138	142	97.5	1913	x — 1969	x — replace
14. Wm. L. Garrison	36	1096	1132	96.8	1910	Renovate & expand site	
15. Wm. Bacon	9	267	276	96.7	1897	x — 1975	x — combine Gray-Dudley
16. Sara Baker	31	686	717	95.7	1906	Renovate & expand site	
17. Quincy	12	148	160	92.5	1847, 1907	x — 1962	Add to A. Lincoln
18. Bus. Ed. Annex	4	42	46	91.3			To be abandoned
19. Nathan Hale	35	349	384	90.9	1909	Renovate & expand site	Addition & Alteration
20. Dillaway	38	300	338	88.7	1882	x — 1965	x — replace
21. Abbey May	22	160	182	88.0	1893	x — 1965	x — to N. Hale
22. Wm. Endicott	50	336	386	87.2	1906	retain K-5	
23. Chas. Perkins	44	259	303	85.5	1891	x — 1975	
24. Dudley	51	299	350	85.4	1874	x — 1965	x — replace, combine Bacon-Gray

TABLE IIIC-1 (Continued)

School	*Enrollment* *W.*	*N.W.*	*Total*	*% N.W.*	*Year Built*	*Rec. Harvard Study*[1]	*Rec. Superintendents*
25. Jos. Hurley	108	500	608	82.2	1962	retain K-5	
26. Albert Palmer	52	161	213	75.7	1895	x — 1975	x — combine Davis
27. Atherton	68	203	271	74.9	1872	x — 1966	x — combine Gibson
28. Aaron Davis	103	263	366	71.8	1875	x — 1965	x — combine Palmer
29. Joshua Bates	51	121	172	70.6	1884	x — 1968	
30. John Winthrop	143	319	462	69.0	1911	x — 1964	
31. Dearborn Annex	79	172	251	68.5	1921	Renovate, expand site	
32. Geo. Bancroft	67	132	199	66.6	1870	x — 1965	x
33. Chris. Gibson	252	478	730	65.5	1895	x — 1965	x — combine Atherton
34. Dearborn	199	373	572	65.2	1908	convert, 6-8	x — replace 1966
35. Mackey	281	448	729	61.4	1958	K-2, 6-8	

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[1] A school which enrolls both elementary and junior high school grades is considered an elementary school in the Harvard report.

APPENDIX IIID

The Closing of Some Buildings in the Fall of 1965 and the Transfer of Students From Those Buildings to Relocatable School Buildings and to Buildings which Will be Retained[1]

Background and Suggestions

Any realistic appraisal of the present Boston School building program reemphasizes the fact that the desired goal of "the larger neighborhood school" is a long-range objective. However, quality education through integration should not be withheld from thousands of young people until the fulfillment of this clearly preferred construction program. For this reason, we suggest consideration of some *interim steps*, which, while far less desirable than new school buildings, are both feasible and economically sound.

We recommend the closing of some schools in 1965 despite the fact that replacement facilities are currently delayed. As one temporary measure, students from some of the schools can be transferred to existing open places in other schools with the city providing a very modest amount of transportation. As another step, they can be transferred to existing facilities with new relocatable units which we recommend for purchase or rent by the city (see p. 31). Of course, not all schools that should be closed immediately can be closed at the end of this school year. In Appendix IIIE, the suggestions we make for post-1965 closings follow those made in other studies. We will suggest specific steps for reducing racial imbalance in those schools as well as in the schools recommended by previous studies for long-term retention.

Our suggestions concerning the eleven buildings recommended for immediate closing by the Harvard report and by successive Boston superintendents can be divided into two parts: First, suggestions concerning the children enrolled in four buildings recommended for immediate closing who would be transferred to two remaining schools; and second, suggestions concerning the transfer of children from seven buildings recommended for immediate closing to fifty-five relocatable units recommended for purchase or rent and location on thirteen existing locations.

Examples:

1. The closing of the Bancroft, Business Education Annex, and Quincy schools at the end of the school year and the transfer of students enrolled in those schools to the Lincoln School;
2. The closing of the Lewis Annex at the end of the school year and the transfer of students enrolled in that school to the Mason School.

The effects of such transfers in reducing racial imbalance can be seen on Table IIID-1. A drastic change would occur for children going to the Lewis Annex which is 100 per cent Negro. After the transfers to the Mason School approximately 48 per cent of the children would be Negro.

The Lincoln School would receive most of the students because it has space available. It would remain approximately 71 per cent non-white, but a substantial percentage of that number would be Chinese students. The Lincoln School is and could still be considered as an integrated school. The total number of students moved would be approximately 469. The number moved to the Lincoln school would be approximately 410. Approximately fifty-nine would be transferred to the Mason School.

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[1] The details of school closings, relocatable unit sites, and exchanges of students between schools, found in Appendices IIID-E, are merely *examples* of how suggestions contained in the body of this report can be implemented.

These transfers would not require the movement of students over great distances. Table IIID-2 indicates that some children would be within walking distance of their new schools. Others could be provided transportation by the city.

We also suggest:

The transfer of students from seven schools recommended for closing (Bates, Boardman, Davis, Ellis Annex, Howe, May, and Palmer) to thirteen school sites (Hoar, Nightingale, Whittier, Emerson, Mason, Mendell, Cushing, Everett, E., Russell, Seaver, Stone, Bulfinch and Jefferson) where the students will be distributed into existing classroom space and — along with students enrolled in those schools — into relocatable classroom units.

Relocatable unit[1] is a term used for classrooms located temporarily on a given site and developed with the intention that they be moved when new permanent structures have been built. Such units have been classified in the past by many names including: portable, mobile, demountable, prefabricated, semi-permanent, and other comparable designations.

Relocatable units should not be purchased or rented as permanent additions to any given school site. They should be used to meet emergency situations such as: the closing of obsolete or deteriorated structures, fluctuations of school enrollments caused by natural population growth, shifts in population due to migrations, and racial imbalance. As soon as relocatable units are placed, plans should be made for their subsequent relocation when the children accommodated by them are moved to permanent facilities.

Relocatable units offer many advantages in providing modern, flexible classrooms, but they must never be used to maintain racial imbalance. Students who are transferred from closed schools, to school sites on which relocatable units are developed should be considered as enrollees of the entire school facility. Such relocatable units would house some transferred students as well as some pupils who normally would be enrolled in the permanent school building.

The effects on racial imbalance of the suggested transfer of students from closed schools to relocatable units can be seen in Table IIID-3. In all cases a drastic change would occur in the school imbalance percentages, ranging approximately from 30 to 83 per cent reduction.

The approximate percentage reduction in racial imbalance by grades affected is also considerable though not as great as the school reduction percentages. The reduction in racial imbalance by grades affected ranges approximately from 21 to 57 per cent.

Transfer of students to relocatable units would not require that students travel great distances. Table IIID-4 indicates that some students would be within walking distance. Others could be provided transportation by the city over relatively short distances.

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[1] The cost of relocatable units varies with the size and type of unit desired and with the amount of site preparation necessary. Estimates made by the Educational Facilities Laboratories of initial in-place costs (delivered and erected at a site prepared by the purchaser) range from $4.50 per square foot.

Site preparation costs may include such factors as: grading, bringing utilities to the site, entry steps, skirting (some means of screening between the base of the building and ground level), landscaping, and sidewalks.

It is estimated that the cost of relocatable units of approximately 800 square feet, each to house approximately thirty students and having heating and rest room facilities, would probably range from $10,000 to $11,000 per unit, including site costs. Reasonable rental agreements can also be made.

TABLE IIID-1

APPROXIMATE RACIAL BALANCE IN EXISTING FACILITIES RECEIVING STUDENTS FROM SCHOOLS RECOMMENDED FOR CLOSING

N.B. All references to racial balance figures and percentages are based on gross school figures from the March, 1964 census and are approximations only.

Closed School	*Approx. % Non-White*	*Grades Trans.*	*Receiving School*	*Grades Served*	*Former % Non-White*	*Projected Sch. % Non-White*	*Approx. Average % Non-White in Grades Affected*
Bancroft	67	1-4	Lincoln[2]	K-8	61	71	73
Bus. Ed. Annex	91	4-5	Lincoln	K-8	61	71	73
Quincy	93	K-6	Lincoln	K-8	61	71	73
Lewis Annex	100	2-4	Mason[1]	K-6	29	48	53

1. Mason site also used for location of relocatable school units. Percentage of non-white includes those transferred to school because of additional available space created by construction of relocatable units.

2. The non-white children in the Lincoln School include both Negro and Chinese.

Additional Data:

Approximate number of students transferred	469
Approximate number moved to Lincoln School	410
Approximate number moved to Mason School	59
Approximate number of non-white children moved	386
Approximate number of white children moved	83

TABLE IIID-2

APPROXIMATE MILEAGE BETWEEN SCHOOLS RECOMMENDED FOR CLOSING IN 1965 AND SUGGESTED RECEIVING SCHOOLS

Closed School	*Receiving School*	*Approximate Mileage Between Schools*
Bancroft	Lincoln	.4
Business Ed. Annex	Lincoln	2.4
Lewis Annex	Mason[1]	1.6
Quincy	Lincoln	.4

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[1] Also a relocatable unit site

TABLE IIID-3

APPROXIMATE RACIAL BALANCE IN SCHOOLS, INCLUDING RELOCATABLE UNITS, RECEIVING STUDENTS FROM CLOSED SCHOOLS

Closed School	*Approx. % Non-White*	*Grades Trans.*	*Relocat. Unit Site*	*Relocatable Units Suggstd.*	*Grades Served*	*Former % Non-White*	*Projected School % Non-White*
Bates	71	K-3	Hoar	6	K-3	2	20
Boardman	99	1-6	Nightingale	2	K-6	36	40
			Whittier	4	K-4	6	42
Davis	72	K-2	Emerson	5	K-6	29	42
			Mason	6	K-6	29	43
Ellis Anx.	98	4-6	Mendell	5	K-6	8	31
Howe	98	K-6 1-2[1]	Cushing[2]	4	1-3	1	32
		3-4	Everett, E.	4	K-6	1	17
		K-7-8	Russell	2	K	12	20
		6	Seaver	2	K-6	1	16
		5	Stone	2	K-6	4	15
May	88	K-3	Bulfinch[2]	6	K-6	30	49
Palmer	76	K-2	Jefferson[2]	7	K-6	25	39

Approx. average % Non-Whites
in grades affected in receiving schools:

Hoar — 20
Nightingale — 45
Whittier — 40
Emerson — 51
Mason — 51
Mendell — 49
Cushing — 41
Everett, E. — 41
Russell — 68
Seaver — 60
Stone — 51
Bulfinch — 56
Jefferson — 50

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[1] Indicates grades transferred to individual school units

[2] Adjacent parks to playgrounds are considered as possible relocatable school unit sites.

TABLE IIID-3 (CONTINUED)

Additional Data:

Approximate number of students transferred	1692
Approximate number of non-white students transferred	1449
Approximate number of white students transferred	243
Approximate number transferred by school	

Bates	172
Boardman	197
Davis	366
Ellis Annex	152
Howe	410
May	182
Palmer	213

TABLE IIID-4

SUGGESTED LOCATION OF RELOCATABLE SCHOOL UNITS

Closed School	*Relocatable Unit Site*	*Number of Units Suggested*	*Approximate Mileage Between Schools*
Bates	Hoar	6	1.8
Boardman	Nightingale	2	1.8
	Whittier	4	2.0
Davis	Emerson	5	.7
	Mason	6	.4
Ellis Annex	Mendell	5	.4
Howe	Cushing	4	2.5
	Everett, E.	4	2.0
	Russell	2	2.0
	Seaver	2	3.7
	Stone	2	2.6
May	Bulfinch	6	1.4
Palmer	Jefferson	7	1.9
	Total	55	

SUGGESTIONS: BOSTON

APPENDIX IIIE

The Exchange of Students Between School Buildings Scheduled to be Retained

Background and Suggestions

Of the thirty-five schools with the highest percentage of racial imbalance listed on Table IIIC-1, we have suggested eleven for closing at the end of the school year and the transfer of students enrolled in those schools to four existing schools and to thirteen other school sites housing fifty-five relocatable units in addition to the regular buildings.

Many of the remaining twenty-four most racially imbalanced schools have been evaluated as dilapidated. Although we would like to suggest the immediate closing of additional obsolete school buildings, we recognize the practical impossibility of such a recommendation.

Our suggestions concerning the development of better racially balanced education for children in the remaining twenty-four schools not recommended for immediate closing fall into two parts. First, are suggestions concerning students enrolled in grades three through six in fifteen schools which we believe should be closed just as soon as possible after 1965 on a schedule which approximates that recommended in the Harvard study as indicated on Table IIIC-1. Secondly, suggestions are made concerning students enrolled in grades three through six in the now heavily racially imbalanced nine schools scheduled for long-term retention.

We believe that it would be educationally harmful to permit racial imbalance to continue in such schools. Recognizing the importance of achieving racial balance at the earliest possible grade level, we have given considerable thought to the question of mutual transfers from kindergarten through second grade. We have decided, nevertheless, not to suggest exchanges for children in these grades because of the apprehensions of parents concerning transfer of younger children. For these children, we strongly encourage an intensified program of interracial learning experiences. (See Appendices IB and IC.)

WE DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT MUTUAL EXCHANGES OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN GRADES THREE THROUGH SIX CAN BE EFFECTED BETWEEN SUCH SCHOOLS AND OTHERS HAVING A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF WHITE STUDENTS, AND URGE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE DETAILED SUGGESTIONS FOR SUCH EXCHANGES MADE HEREIN. ADDITIONALLY, WE WANT IT CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THESE SUGGESTED TRANSFERS ARE NOT THE ONLY POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH COULD BE MADE. WE ARE VERY WILLING TO CO-OPERATE WITH BOSTON SCHOOL OFFICIALS AS THEY MAY DESIRE TO EVALUATE THESE OR OTHER POSSIBLE EXCHANGE PATTERNS.

We have given long and thorough consideration to the relative advantages to be gained from such middle grade transfers as opposed to the possible temporary disruptive effect on school personnel, parents, and children. Experience shows that the educational good which results from such exchanges when accompanied by proper direction from school authorities far outweighs the initial inconveniences which accompany the administrative change.

We suggest:

1. That the following schools be closed as soon as possible after 1965: Allen, Atherton, Bacon, Brooks, Dearborn Annex, Dickerman, Dillaway, Dudley, Everett, Gibson, Gray, Hyde, Perkins, C., Williams, J.J., and Winthrop. We also believe that students from grades three through six in these schools (with the exceptions of Allen and Atherton and

Williams) could be exchanged with pupils from predominantly white schools.

2. That students in grades three through six from the schools scheduled for long-term retention (Baker, Dearborn, Ellis, Endicott, Garrison, Hale, Higginson, Hurley, and Mackey) be exchanged with students from equivalent grades in predominantly white schools.

Five schools would be involved in suggested transfer procedures as seen in Table IIIE-1. With the exception of one situation, the transfers would be mutual. Each school would be a sending and receiving school. Transfers would be from grades three through six.

THE SCHOOLS INVOLVED IN THE MUTUAL TRANSFERS ARE RELATIVELY CLOSE TOGETHER (SEE TABLE IIIE-2). IN KEEPING WITH OUR PLANNING POLICY, WE HAVE SEEN TO IT THAT NO EXTENSIVE CROSS-CITY TRANSPORTATION IS INVOLVED. Most of the children affected by the suggested exchange between the Winthrop School and the Fenwick School would undoubtedly continue to walk to school. Other children would be furnished transportation by Boston school authorities to achieve the vital objective of higher quality education through racial balance.[1]

The transfers would substantially reduce racial imbalance in the schools concerned, particularly from grades three through six (See Table IIIE-1). Imbalance would remain high in kindergarten through the second grades.

Presently, we can think of no way of drastically reducing racial imbalance in the Allen, Atherton, and Williams schools. Until they are closed, students from these schools should be involved in a program of expanded interracial educational experiences (see Appendices IB, IC).

A considerable reduction of racial imbalance in predominantly white schools would also be achieved as indicated on Table IIIE-1.

The total number of students moved as a result of these transfers would be approximately 5,000. The approximate number of students involved in each school affected by transfers is listed on Table IIIE-3.

In these suggestions, we have not been bound by formulas used for other cities. We have examined the uniqueness of the Boston situation. In some cases, we have suggested an exchange by grade. For example, the Dearborn School would no longer house the third and fourth grades following its grade level exchange with the Bigelow School which would no longer include a fifth or sixth grade.

In other cases, grade exchanges could not have been made without involving schools more than two miles apart from each other. In such instances, students are exchanged across grade lines with a specific number of students from each grade being exchanged between schools. It is anticipated that in the selection of students to be exchanged, all students will be given the opportunity to exchange at least once during their school life encompassing grades three through six.

Only one of the schools involved, the Mackey School, is not a receiving school. This predominantly non-white school would send children to the Faneuil School which is the only school involved in the transfers that is not also a sending school.

The transfers suggested must be considered as temporary measures only to promote racial balance in those schools remaining in use past 1965. As these schools are closed, children can be transferred for short periods to relocatable school units or directly to newly constructed large, permanent buildings as discussed in Appendix IIIC.

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[1] In 1963 — 1964, 799 Boston pupils were transported by bus at a cost to the city of $56,805.50. Thousands more in Massachusetts are transported by buses to parachiol and independent private schools, and to public schools in towns, cities, and central school districts.

TABLE IIIE-1

APPROXIMATE RACIAL BALANCE IN SCHOOLS AFTER STUDENTS OR GRADES HAVE BEEN EXCHANGED

N. B. All references to racial balance figures and percentages are based on gross school figures from the March, 1964 census.

Base or Home School Retained Schools	Approx. % Non-white Former-New		Grades Accepted	Approx. %N.W. In grades Affected	Exchange School	Approx. % Non-white Former-New		Grades Accepted	Approx. Average %N. W. in Grades Affected
Baker	95	69	3 – 6[1]	52	Paine	23	42	3 – 6[1]	51
					Rochambeau	1	28	3 – 6[1]	45
Dearborn	65	42	5 – 6	33	Bigelow	2	25	3 – 4	36
Ellis	98	65	5 – 6	43	Marshall	0	28	3 – 4	45
Endicott	87	66	5 – 6	45	Hemenway, M.	0	30	3 – 4	46
Garrison	97	62	3 – 6[1]	46	Mather	1	30	3 – 6[1]	46
					Motley	1	30	3 – 6[1]	47
Hale	91	59	5 – 6	0-45[3]	Champlain	8	31	3 – 4	46
Higginson	98	60	5 – 6	35	Parkman	2	20	3 – 4	42
Hurley	82	64	5 – 6	55	Kennedy	28	45	3 – 4	55
Mackey[2]	61	54	3 – 6	54	Faneuil	5	49	3 – 6	49
Proposed Closing Post 1965									
Bacon	96	60	5 – 6	42	Bowditch	4	28	3 – 6[1]	43
Brooks	98	71	3 – 6[1]	56	Audubon	16	37	3 – 6[1]	47
					O'Hearn	2	32	3 – 6[1]	48
Dearborn Annx.	69	41	3 – 4[1]	41	Dever	38	45	3 – 4[1]	50
Dickerman	98	66	5 – 6	48	Fifield	1	30	3 – 4	47
Dillaway	89	63	5 – 6	47	Fuller	3	32	3 – 4	48
Dudley	85	55	5 – 6	38	Clap	1	24	3 – 4	39
Everett	99	68	3 – 4	39	Perkins, M.	0	25	3 – 4[1]	49
Gibson	65	47	3 – 6	38	Shaw	5	38	3 – 6[1]	52
Gray	98	64	5 – 6	2	Agassiz	2	41	3 – 4	58
Hyde	99	55	7 – 8	33	Russell	12	31	7 – 8[1]	31
Perkins, C.	85	52	3 – 6[1]	33	Norcross	2	23	3 – 6[1]	27
Winthrop	69	57	5 – 6	50	Fenwick	38	48	3 – 4	53

1. An exchange of students rather than grades.
2. In the Mackey School, no white children will be received but non-white will be transferred.
3. No sixth grade enrolled previously.

TABLE IIIE-2

APPROXIMATE MILEAGE BETWEEN SCHOOLS SUGGESTED IN MUTUAL TRANSFER OF STUDENTS

GRADES 3-6

School		*School*	*Approximate Mileage*
Bacon	with	Bowditch	2.3
Baker	with	Paine	2.4
"	"	Rochambeau	2.8
Brooks	with	Audubon	2.4
"	"	O'Hearn	2.2
Dearborn Annex	with	Dever	2.6
Dearborn	with	Bigelow	2.1
Dickerman	with	Fifield	2.0
Dillaway	with	Fuller	1.7
Dudley	with	Clap	2.3
Ellis	with	Marshall	2.0
Endicott	with	Hemenway, M.	2.5
Everett	with	Perkins, M.	2.0
Garrison	with	Mather	1.8
"	"	Motley	3.0
Gibson	with	Shaw	1.8
Gray	with	Agassiz	2.5
Hale	with	Champlain	2.5
Higginson	with	Parkman	1.8
Hurley	with	Kennedy	2.2
Hyde	with	Russell[1]	2.3
Mackey	with	Faneuil[2]	1.8
Perkins, C.	with	Norcross	2.9
Winthrop	with	Fenwick	.5

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[1] Also a relocatable unit site

[2] In this case, only non-white children would be transferred from Mackey to Faneuil.

TABLE IIIE-3

NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY STUDENTS MOVED IN TRANSFER BY SCHOOL AND COLOR

Schools	*Number of Students Moved*		*Grade Levels*
	Non-White	*White*	
Baker	155		3-4
Paine		80	5-6
Rochambeau		75	5-6
Dearborn	140	67	3-4
Bigelow	2	172	5-6
Ellis	182	3	3-4
Marshall		185	5-6
Endicott	92	14	3-4
Hemenway, M.		85	5-6
Garrison	270	0	3-4-5-6
Mather		200	3-4-5-6
Motley		70	3-4-5-6
Hale	113	13	3-4
Champlain		105	5-6
Higginson	88	2	3-4
Parkman	2	113	5-6
Hurley	138	32	3-4
Kennedy	38	113	5-6
Mackey	100	0	3-4-5-6
Faneuil			
Bacon	71	3	5-6
Bowditch	3	90	5-6
Brooks	140	0	3-4-5-6
Audubon		60	3-4-5-6
O'Hearn		80	3-4-5-6
Dearborn Annex	70		3-4
Dever		70	3-4
Dickerman	127	4	3-4
Fifield		129	5-6
Dillaway	83	11	3-4
Fuller	2	76	5-6
Dudley	92	16	3-4
Clap		116	5-6
Everett	72		3-4
Perkins, M.		72	3-4
Gibson	100		3-4-5-6
Shaw		100	3-4-5-6

TABLE IIIE—3 Continued

Schools	Number of Students Moved Non—White	 White	Grade Levels
Gray	110	2	3-4
Agassiz	1	71	5-6
Hyde	120		7-8
Russell		120	7-8
Perkins, C.	80		3-4-5-6
Norcross		80	3-4-5-6
Winthrop	84	38	3-4
Fenwick	42	80	5-6
Total:	2517	2547	

APPENDIX IIIF

Changes in the Assignment of Students to Junior High Schools Combined With Compensatory Education Linked to Racial Balancing

Background and Suggestions

Boston has four predominantly non-white junior high schools: the Lewis Junior High School (99.5 per cent non-white); the Patrick T. Campbell Junior High School (92.9 per cent non-white); the James P. Timilty Junior High School (86.9 per cent non-white); and the Oliver Wendell Holmes Junior High School (71.0 per cent non-white).

Fortunately, there are a number of practical ways by which these four predominantly non-white junior high schools could be racially balanced. Racial balancing at the junior high school level, in fact, could be attained completely by September, 1965.

In addition, plans could be made now to convert the relevant junior high schools from grades seven through nine to grades six through eight immediately upon completion of the new English High School. Integrated middle school education could then begin at sixth grade levels for students of these schools.

We suggest four possible approaches to higher quality racially balanced education in the junior high schools:

(1) Changing "feeder patterns" which simply means changing the system by which graduates of a particular elementary school are assigned to a particular junior high school. There are predominantly non-white elementary schools which currently "feed in" to the (predominantly non-white) Campbell Junior High and which are less than two miles from the (predominantly white) Grover Cleveland Junior High. Students from such elementary schools could be assigned to the Cleveland, while students from certain predominantly white elementary schools within two miles of the Campbell could be assigned there. This would have the effect of integrating both schools.

Similar plans could be evolved for the other junior high schools. Schools currently feeding into the Oliver Wendell Holmes could be exchanged with schools currently feeding into Woodrow Wilson, or the Solomon Lewenberg, or both. Feeder exchanges between the Lewis and Curley, and between the Gavin and the Timilty, could accomplish the same purposes.

(2) Assigning all classes for certain grades to one school and all classes for certain other grades to another in a mutual transfer system. Thus, all students from three districts might attend the Lewenberg for Grade seven, the Holmes for Grade eight, and the Wilson for Grade nine. This would allow each school to specialize and concentrate on the particular age group it served. Or, to cite another example, the Campbell and Cleveland might exchange students with grades six and seven held at the Cleveland and grades eight and nine at the Campbell.

(3) Redistricting, or fluid districting, by which junior high school boundary lines could be altered so that they include both white and non-white areas. For example, the Lewenberg district line could be moved northeast towards the Holmes, the Holmes district line could be moved southwest towards the Wilson, and the Wilson district line could be moved west towards the Lewenberg in a way which promoted better integration of all three schools.

Fluid districting would involve the same principle, except that the new district lines would be intentionally made subject to change as the racial composition of the community changed. In this way, a central zoning unit could continue to insure the multiracial character of the junior high school districts.

(4) Adopting special programs for junior high schools. After-school compensatory programs or summer enrichment programs, both of which are vitally needed, could be planned in a way that insured racial balance. A special curriculum for disadvantaged students with high learning potential could be organized at one school for students from several districts.

The suggestions above represent only some of the ways by which predominantly non-white junior high school education could be practically eliminated in Boston. They are intended merely to illustrate that practical and realistic solutions to racial imbalance at the junior high school level are currently available.

SUGGESTIONS: BOSTON

APPENDIX IIIG

Suggestions Related to the Curriculum at Girls' High, and the Assignment of Students at Latin and Technical High Schools

Background and Suggestions

Boston has two types of high school systems: first, the intown special schools (all boys or all girls); and second, the coeducational, district, multi-purpose schools. Although some students who live intown go to district schools which offer special city-wide courses (and vice versa) most non-white students live intown and attend intown high schools.

The only high school in Boston with more than a 40 per cent non-white population is Girls' High, which is from 70 to 75 per cent non-white. Girls' High, an intown school, is located near Dudley Station, in an area whose population is predominantly non-white.

Approximately 525 of the 750 students attending Girls' High take the Business Education curriculum. About 190 students take the pre-college curriculum which includes a nursing preparatory course (twenty students). About thirty-five take the Home Economics curriculum.

Special purpose institutions such as Boston Latin School and Girls' Latin School accept students from grades seven to twelve, and are completely college preparatory. Since they are controlled by entrance examination, only a very small percentage of non-whites is enrolled in these schools. This is also true of the college preparatory program at Boston Technical High School.

The racial imbalance at Girls' High, the dearth of non-whites in the best academic programs in the city's schools, are all problems which the educational leaders of the city should examine. We suggest the following:

1. The curricula at Girls' High could be changed to promote improved educational opportunities and better racial balance. The Home Economics couse might be transferred in its entirety to another high school. A technical curriculum for girls similar to the college preparatory program at Boston Technical could be introduced. The Business Education curriculum could be expanded and modernized to include preparation for some of the newer jobs becoming available as the result of automation and the development of new office equipment. An art, music, or theater curriculum could be added.

2. Special efforts could be made to increase the number of non-white students at Latin and Technical High Schools. Perhaps special preparatory assistance might be made available to disadvantaged students prior to the examinations. Tutoring for students from disadvantaged programs might be provided to those admitted under a special "talent search" program.

SUGGESTIONS: SPRINGFIELD

APPENDIX IVA

Combining Elementary School Districts

Background and Suggestions

Of the thirty-four hundred Negroes in the city's thirty-eight elementary schools, two-thirds are assigned to seven schools. In five of these, according to the results of the March, 1964 census, from 55 to 90 per cent of the enrollment is Negro. In the other two, Negro and Puerto Rican children combined constitute 82 and 59 per cent of the enrollments. Of these seven elementary schools where the non-white enrollment is appreciably more than 50 per cent of the school's total population, three (Carew St., Eastern Avenue, and Tapley) were originally built prior to 1900. By contrast, three-quarters of the predominantly white schools in the city were built since 1900.

Of the 950 Negro children in the Springfield junior high schools, 702 in Buckingham constitute 63 per cent of the enrollment. Buckingham was originally built in 1890.

High school students in the city of Springfield are given their choice as to which of four schools — Classical, Commerce, Technical and Trade — they will attend, and as a consequence, there is no problem of severe racial imbalance in the Springfield high schools.

On September 19, 1963, the Springfield School Committee, by formal resolution, found that "racial concentration" did exist in some of its schools, that "integrated education is desirable," and resolved to "take whatever action is necessary to eliminate to the fullest extent possible, racial concentration in the schools within the framework of effective educational procedures." Dissatisfied with the existing situation, in January, 1964, Negro parents filed a lawsuit in U.S. District Court to require the school committee to take steps to eliminate racial imbalance. At that time, apparently, the school authorities discontinued their plans, if any, to implement the September 19 resolution.

On January 11, 1965, the United States District Court ruled that racial imbalance existing in "some of the schools" in Springfield constituted unlawful racial segregation under the United States Constitution and was to be eliminated "to the fullest extent possible — within the framework of effective educational procedures." The court held that in the light of the ratio of white and non-white in the total Springfield population (approximately ten to one) "a non-white attendance of appreciably more than 50 per cent in any one school is tantamount to segregation."

The court noted that while there had been no deliberate intent on the part of school authorities to segregate the races, the segregation which in fact existed "results from a rigid adherence to the neighborhood plan of school attendance."

Education is tax supported and compulsory, the court said, "and public school educators, therefore, must deal with the inadequacies within the educational system as they arise, and it matters not that the inadequacies are not of their making." The court concluded that rigid adherence to the neighborhood plan of school attendance must be abandoned or modified when it results in segregation in fact.

This ruling, now on appeal to a higher federal court,[1] is applicable to all of the schools (seven elementary and one junior high) discussed in this appendix.

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[1] It may be appropriate to note here, perhaps, that until such time as higher court action occurs, the January, 1965, U.S. District Court ruling remains the declared law insofar as the Springfield schools are concerned. The fact that the U.S. Supreme Court later declined to consider a similar "de facto" issue — as occurred on March 1, 1965, in a case relating to the Kansas City, Kansas schools -- has no legal effect with regard to the Springfield situation. The Supreme Court's refusal here meant no more than that it did not wish to review the Kansas City case at that particular time.

In the past, the school committee has followed its own rule that district lines be drawn so that "the number of children in the city will be distributed as evenly as possible." It has also insisted that "district lines are to be strictly maintained unless the request (for a transfer to another district) is founded upon serious need of an individual child." Exceptions have been permitted, and "special permits" issued, for children enrolled in classes for the mentally or physically handicapped, for other medical reasons, or where "the welfare of the pupil will be served better thereby," for overcrowding which necessitates "emergency measures", or for children in "optional areas" which the school committee has established because of peculiar geographic factors or traffic patterns. Racial segregation has not been considered as a basis for making exceptions.

Under present rules, the school committee furnishes bus transportation for elementary pupils who suffer from physical or mental handicaps, or who attend school outside their neighborhood district because of special placement, overcrowded conditions or hazardous travel; and for K-3 grade pupils who live one and one-half miles or more from the school they attend. The rules also provide for tickets for elementary and junior high school students to use on public transportation facilities if they live more than two miles from school.

In addition to its September 19, 1963, resolution finding that "integrated education is desirable" the Springfield school committee has recognized some of the severe educational disadvantages which exist for non-white children. It has made available to its teaching, supervisory, and administrative staff an in-service program of instruction on the topic: "Human Relations and the Culturally Disadvantaged." In addition, during the present 1964-65 school year, the school committee authorized a program of intra-system teacher exchanges which would enable teachers from schools in contrasting socio-economic areas of the city to exchange teaching assignments for periods of up to one week.

While these measures indicate a willingness to recognize some problems of severely disadvantaged non-white children, we believe that the city of Springfield can take several actions immediately which will reduce substantially the racial concentration which its 1963 resolution deemed undesirable.

The first approach we suggest is the combining of existing elementary districts so as to form "new" (enlarged) districts containing more than a single school. Possible combinations might be:

1. Brookings (presently 59 per cent non-white) with Kensington (presently 99 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 36 per cent for the new district.

2. Carew Street (59 per cent non-white) with Jefferson Avenue (93 per cent white) and Lincoln (94 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 24 per cent for the new district.

3. Ells (61 per cent non-white) with Dorman (93 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 32 per cent for the new district.

4. Tapley (75 per cent non-white) with Liberty (99 per cent white) or Armory Street (99 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 42 per cent or 37 per cent respectively, for the new district.

5. Deberry (91 per cent non-white) with Summer Avenue (100 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 50 per cent for the new district.

6. Eastern Avenue (87 per cent non-white) with White Street (99 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 24 per cent for the new district.

7. Hooker (83 per cent non-white) with Acushnet Avenue (95 per cent white) to give a non-white ratio of 56 per cent for the new district. (While this ratio of non-white enrollment for the new district exceeds 50 per cent, this would be in operation only until

2

1966 at which time the Hooker school is scheduled to be demolished for urban renewal).

Each of the "new" districts would include *two* (and in one instance, three) "neighborhood" schools instead of one. In the new districts one school could accommodate certain grades depending on room availability and total grade enrollment. The other school(s) could serve the grades not accommodated in the first building. Thus, in a two-school district, one school might serve grades one through three, while the other would serve grades four through six.

Students in the elementary grades in the combined districts could be assigned to one or the other of the district's schools on the basis of grade, rather than residence. If desired, the existing kindergarten classes could remain as they are, that is, one in each of the district schools.

The first four of these suggested combinations involve existing districts which are already adjacent, (possess a common boundary); the last three involve districts which have no common boundary at present, though, as will be suggested in Appendix IVC below, common boundaries could be established for one of them.

It is recognized that in the new (combined) districts, some children would have to travel longer distances than at present and over new, and perhaps more heavily trafficked routes. It is also recognized that the present feeder-patterns for some of the junior high schools may have to be revamped; and that either Negro or white children, or both, may have to be transported at School Committee expense. All of these factors, admittedly, will present problems. But they are not insolvable and their solution could result in a better education for all Springfield children.

SUGGESTIONS: SPRINGFIELD

APPENDIX IVB

Revising Existing Elementary and Junior High School District Boundaries

Background and Suggestions

The combining of existing elementary school districts is one approach to reducing racial imbalance and was suggested in the previous appendix (Appendix IVA). Another possibility is to revise existing elementary and junior high school boundaries as suggested below:

1. Consideration might be given to modifying the boundaries of the present Brookings elementary district so that its present southeastern portion, which now separates the Eastern Avenue district from the White Street district, would be detached therefrom and added to either the Eastern Avenue or White Street district. The line separating the then-contiguous Eastern Avenue and White Street districts, presently 87 per cent non-white and 99 per cent white, respectively, might then be redrawn so as to run, roughly, north-south rather than east-west as at present.

2. The school committee could consider modifying the line presently separating the Kensington Avenue and Brookings districts, presently 99 per cent white and 59 per cent non-white, respectively, so that it will run, roughly, north-south rather than east-west as at present.

3. The elimination of the present Buckingham junior high school district, and the closing down of the present Buckingham building (built originally in 1890) might also be considered. Pending the construction of the replacement building (see Appendix IV-C), the present Buckingham students (63 per cent non-white) could be distributed to the Duggan, Forest Park, Kiley and Van Sickle junior high schools, and to Classical junior high school if necessary, and the boundaries of these junior high school districts could be revised so that the elementary schools (which formerly fed into the Buckingham school) would feed into the junior high schools as follows:

   a. Brookings to feed into Forest Park (and Classical if necessary)

   b. Deberry to feed into Duggan

   c. Eastern Ave. to feed into Forest Park

   d. Ells to feed into Duggan

   e. Homer St., to feed into Kiley

   f. Tapley to feed into Van Sickle and Duggan

Where present space limitations require, consideration might be given to using "relocatable" units. (See Appendix IIIC for explanation of relocatable units). It is suggested that truly portable units be considered, rather than the "demountable" type presently in use, e.g. at the Harris elementary school.

4. Consider the elimination of existing "optional areas" and the handling of transfer requests for pupils residing therein as "Special Permit" cases. (See Appendix IV-A)

APPENDIX IVC

The Selection of Sites Outside the Present Areas of Heavy Negro Residential Concentration to Replace Existing Elementary and Junior High School Buildings

Background and Suggestions

The attainment of higher quality racially-balanced education ultimately depends upon the location and size of new buildings. Antiquated schools cannot take advantage of the most modern and flexible educational programs. In planning new sites, the Springfield school authorities might, therefore, take into account existing and emerging patterns of residential segregation and locate all new buildings so they will draw from both white and non-white areas. We suggest for consideration the following:

1. The selection of a site for the junior high school to replace the present Buckingham School somewhere in the Blunt Park area of the present Buckingham district, or in the area near Trade High, or somewhere in the present Memorial Elementary School district boundaries. The replacement building could be constructed as a separate entity or as part of an "educational park" to include one or more elementary school buildings.

2. The selection of a site for a single elementary school to replace the present Hooker School (built in 1916, and scheduled to be demolished for urban renewal by 1966) and the present Carew Street School (built in 1894). This replacement school could be located somewhere in the present Armory Street, Glenwood or Liberty elementary districts.

3. As an alternative to # 2 above, the site selected could be used for the construction of a single, large, elementary school or a complex of two elementary schools to replace not only the present Hooker and Carew Street schools but also the present Brightwood School (originally built in 1899).

4. In the selection of sites for the above-described replacement schools, as well as for all subsequent school buildings, the school committee might consider, as one of the determining factors, the probable racial distribution of the resulting enrollment and then take only such action as will assure racially balanced schools.

SUGGESTIONS: SPRINGFIELD

APPENDIX IVD

Racially Balanced Compensatory Education Programs for Severely Disadvantaged Elementary School Children

Background and Suggestions

In Appendix IC we described in some detail various compensatory education programs which could be linked to racial integration in the schools in many cities and towns. These suggestions apply to Springfield. We realize that the Springfield School Committee has already submitted a community action proposal under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. (See Appendix ID.) This program, pending its acceptance by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Commonwealth Service Corps as advisor to the Governor of Massachusetts concerning anti-poverty programs, would affect approximately 3,800 elementary school pupils and thirteen schools located in the "marginal subsistence income" area of the city, including all of the seven schools with high Negro enrollments mentioned earlier in Appendix IVA.

The Community Action Program would concentrate its efforts mainly in furnishing expanded psychological and social service for parents — children, group instruction for the children, in-service training programs for teachers, and in improving school-community relations in the city's "marginal subsistence income" areas.

The program, as presently proposed, would not reduce or eliminate racial imbalance. The Springfield School Committee has recognized in its proposal that compensatory education programs are not, in themselves, correctives for racial imbalance. Rather, they are intended to upgrade the quality of education for children regardless of color in areas of extreme proverty.

We suggest that the community action proposals of the City of Springfield to the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts through the Commonwealth Service Corps be revised in the following ways:

1. To link programs for compensatory education to plans for racial integration as suggested in Appendices IC and IVA, B, and C.

2. To tie programs for teacher-training in connection with compensatory education to plans for racial balancing as suggested in Appendix IA.

3. To include an expanded program of interracial learning experiences for prekindergarten children and in summer programs as suggested in Appendix IB.

Because of the apparent need for compensatory programs in the seven elementary schools discussed earlier in Appendix IVA, it is suggested that — should federal funds not materialize under the Economic Opportunity Act — consideration might be given to carrying out, in these seven schools at least, appropriate programs similar to those mentioned above but under School Committee financing.

In either case, it is also suggested that consideration be given to the feasibility of assigning to one person the full-time responsibility for administration of any compensatory-type program which the School Committee undertakes. Desirably, this individual would be given ready access to the Superintendent of Schools, be answerable directly to him, and be given system-wide status comparable to an Assistant Superintendent.

SUGGESTIONS: SPRINGFIELD

APPENDIX IVE

Modifying the Present Open Enrollment Policy

Background and Suggestions

While we do not believe that an effective open enrollment policy is a guarantee of equality of educational opportunity, it can help to facilitate a partial reduction of racial imbalance. Therefore, we suggest that the school committee consider modifying its present open enrollment policy to include elementary and junior high schools so as to contain the following elements:

1. Any child will be permitted to move to a school which is less imbalanced than the one in which he is enrolled if space is available. Transportation should be provided by the school system when a child moves to a school which is 50 per cent or more of another race if this school is beyond reasonable walking distance. In determining the applicability of a request for transfer, school officials should give preference to those students enrolled in the most heavily imbalanced schools.

2. The availability of space will be determined by an administrator in the central office in consultation with the building principals. Equitable and uniform criteria will be used to establish the actual capacity of school buildings and availability of space in classrooms.

3. Lists of all open seats will be available in each local school, and the local school principal will assist parents in arranging transfers.

4. School authorities will take all possible measures to publicize the open enrollment system to parents of students in predominantly non-white schools.

SUGGESTIONS: MEDFORD

APPENDIX V

Education of Higher Quality Through Racial Balance

Background and Suggestions

In the City of Medford, only the Hervey Elementary School, was found to be predominantly non-white in the March, 1964, census. At that time 162 or 57.8 per cent of the 280 pupils at the Hervey School were Negro. The Hervey School, bordered primarily by the Mystic River (Arlington) and the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks is one of the oldest schools in one of the oldest sections of Medford.

The 1960 Federal census revealed a sharp rate of increase in non-white population in the neighborhood of the Hervey School during the preceding ten years. It also revealed a small migration of whites out of the area. These migratory tendencies are continuing and are reflected in the latest census of the Hervey School, taken in October, 1964, which revealed that 60.7 per cent of the 275 students currently enrolled are non-white.

Although the Hervey School is not yet as drastically imbalanced as certain elementary schools in Boston and Springfield, present tendencies indicated that something must be done quickly to reduce imbalance in the Hervey School before the situation becomes even more serious than it is.

Of the seventeen elementary schools in Medford, the Hervey School was rated as fourth least satisfactory by a professional consultant to the city of Medford in 1964. (See John E. Marshall "Medford School Needs, 1964"). Although the consultant rated the school as sub-satisfactory, he recommended that three other schools be replaced before the Hervey School.

Up to this point, the Hervey School has probably not suffered from its condition of racial imbalance as much as the more severely imbalanced schools in other cities. Medford has had integrated textbooks (picturing whites and non-whites in illustrations) in some elementary school classrooms for the past three years and more are being added each year, eventually for use by the entire system. There is a parent-teacher association at the Hervey School with approximately equal numbers of whites and non-whites participating.

Although the students at Hervey School and one other elementary school showed the lowest median intelligence quotient score in 1963-64, the students at Hervey had a lower median achievement score in only three of nine reading and arithmetic tests given that same year. These results in achievement, while not outstanding, do not reveal the typical pattern of significantly lowered achievement attributed to racial imbalance in other schools.

For these results, the school authorities and teachers at Hervey are to be congratulated.

We believe that some of the relative success at the Hervey School can be ascribed to the fact that in the past it has not been thought of as a "Negro school." Only in recent years has it become imbalanced. School authorities should take immediate steps to eliminate imbalance now to prevent the educational deprivation which invariably follows a severely imbalanced school situation.

We suggest for consideration the following:

1. Assignment of fifth grade pupils from the Hervey School district to the Brooks School; and reassignment of two classes of handicapped children now housed in the Brooks School to another school to provide space for the Hervey School pupils.

The Brooks Elementary School, which in March, 1964, was 10.5 per cent non-white is located only two-fifths of a mile (air or map distance) from the Hervey School. Although it is the oldest elementary school in the city, its condition is considered excellent. (See the Marshall Report.)

The two classes of handicapped children now housed at the Brooks School might be reassigned to the Hervey School or to the Gleason or to the Hillside elementary schools which are four-fifths of a mile from the Hervey School. (Both the Gleason and the Hillside schools are considered to be in more satisfactory condition than the Hervey School.)

2. Consideration of a mutual transfer of students between the Hervey and Brooks schools with pupils from kindergarten through grades three in both school districts attending one school and children from grades four through six attending the other school.

Since these two schools are approximately two-fifths of a mile from each other as measured in air or map distance, such transfers could probably be affected without busing.

3. Consideration of grouping the Hervey, Brooks, and Gleason schools into one attendance area.

This suggestion might be best from a long-range point of view since both the Brooks and Gleason schools are expected to remain in use for a long time. Implementation of this suggestion would enable school authorities to maintain interracial education even with some shifting of population;

4. A program of compensatory education for the Hervey and Brooks schools.

The City of Medford should consider the adoption of compensatory education programs in connection with the implementation of racial integration plans.

SUGGESTIONS: CAMBRIDGE

APPENDIX VI

Various Measures to Achieve Higher Quality Education Through Racial Balance

Background and Suggestions

The City of Cambridge has a substantial non-white population distributed in various sections of the city. As a consequence, eleven of its nineteen public schools (elementary, junior, and high) have 10 per cent or more non-white population, but only one of its schools, the Houghton Elementary School, was reported as being predominantly non-white (51.9 per cent) in the March, 1964, census. Since that time racial imbalance has been reduced as a result of the opening of new housing for married students of Harvard University. Although we do not have an accurate percentage figure of non-white students at the present time since the City of Cambridge has not taken a new census, the percentage of Negro students at the Houghton School presently is undoubtedly less than 50 per cent.

A "Curriculum Guide for Democratic Human Relations" was published by the Cambridge School Department in 1954. It was written by a committee composed of Cambridge public school personnel representing both the elementary and the secondary schools.

The guide contains a philosophy of democratic human relations, a sociological study of Cambridge, a statement of responsibilities, and some recommended practices. A committee has been appointed recently to revise the guide.

Until the Houghton School is replaced, the trend to racial imbalance is likely to continue. This school has been scheduled for replacement by the school authorities, and this would totally eliminate racial imbalance in the City of Cambridge.

If there is any significant delay in the building of the new Houghton School, the following suggestions could be considered:

1. Redefinition of attendance areas to include the Houghton, Webster, and Morse Schools within one area.

In the March, 1964, census the Webster School was approximately 37 per cent non-white. The Morse School was approximately 15.1 per cent non-white. A mutual transfer of grades such as recommended for many schools in Boston (see Appendix IIIE) could probably be effected without substantial busing since the Webster School is approximately half a mile (air or map distance) from the Houghton School. The Morse School is approximately three-quarters of a mile from the Webster School and one mile from the Houghton School. If some students have to be transported, the City of Cambridge should provide transportation for them.

A redefinition of the attendance area combined with the earliest possible replacement of the Houghton School and the adoption of compensatory education programs (see Appendix IC) probably would be most effective in the City of Cambridge.

2. The adoption of an effective open enrollment policy. While we do not believe that an effective open enrollment policy is a sufficient guarantee of equality of educational opportunity, it can help to facilitate a partial reduction of racial imbalance. Therefore, we suggest an open enrollment policy for elementary schools which contains the following elements:

a. Any child will be permitted to move to a school which is less imbalanced than the one in which he is enrolled if space is available. Transportation should be provided by the school system when a child moves to a school which is 50 per cent or more of another race if this school is beyond reasonable walking distance. In determining the applicability of a request for transfer, school officials should give preference to those students enrolled in the most heavily imbalanced schools.

b. The availability of space will be determined by an administrator in the central office in consultation with the building principals. Equitable and uniform criteria will be used to establish the actual capacity of school buildings and availability of space in classrooms.

c. Lists of all open seats will be available in each local school, and the local school principal will assist parents in arranging transfers.

d. School authorities will take all possible measures to publicize the open enrollment system to parents of students in predominantly non-white schools.

SUGGESTIONS: WORCESTER

APPENDIX VII

Education of Higher Quality Through Racial Balance

Backgrounds and Suggestions

Eight of sixty-seven schools in Worcester have a non-white population in excess of 7 per cent, the highest of which was approximately 30 per cent. In the city's schools of highest non-white populations, facilities are often outmoded. Precautions should be taken to stem any trend toward further racial imbalance. A possibility might be a redefinition of attendance areas should the percentage of non-whites at the Elizabeth Street School continue to increase.

However, the educational problems faced by Worcester are those of urban education generally rather than those of racial imbalance. Therefore, we recommend for immediate consideration a program of interracial compensatory education for the most severely disadvantaged school children of Worcester along lines suggested in Appendix IC.

APPENDIX VIII

SUGGESTION: STATEWIDE "AD HOC" COMMITTEE

No recommendations are self-implementing. Some of the suggestions presented call for immediate action, while others are long-term policies. School systems will need the encouragement and assistance of interested citizen groups in explaining to and gaining support from the general public, as well as garnering the necessary political support for such measures as demand legislative action. Therefore, we suggest the creation of a voluntary and autonomous state-wide citizens' committee drawn from the ranks of business, labor, social service, religious, and other interested organizations. This committee could have a small professional staff, and it should work in close liaison with the State Department of Education and interested school systems.

APPENDIX IX

Racial Composition of the Schools
of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

TABLE IX-A

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE PUPILS

AMONG MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(388 School Districts)

Schools Report-ing	No. of Schools Without Non-Whites	No. of Schools With Non-Whites	Less Than 1%	PERCENTAGES OF NON-WHITES									
				1 — 10%	11 — 20%	21 — 30%	31 — 40%	41 — 50%	51 — 60%	61 — 70%	71 — 80%	81 — 90%	91 — 100%
2275	1011 44.4%	1264 55.6%	575 25.27%	551 24.21%	46 2.02%	23 0.97%	9 0.40%	5 0.22%	10 0.44%	9 0.40%	5 0.22%	11 0.48%	20 0.88%

New Bedford Vocational High School is included. Other New Bedford schools are not recorded.

TABLE IX-B

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE PUPILS AMONG BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Schools Reporting	No. of Schools Without Non-Whites	No. of Schools With Non-Whites	Less Than 1%	PERCENTAGES OF NON-WHITES									
				1 — 10%	11 — 20%	21 — 30%	31 — 40%	41 — 50%	51 — 60%	61 — 70%	71 — 80%	81 — 90%	91 — 100%
201	42 20.90%	159 79.10%	28 17.61%	52 32.70%	11 6.92%	13 8.18%	7 4.40%	3 1.89%	5 3.14%	8 5.03%	4 2.52%	8 5.03%	20 12.58%

TABLE IX-C

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE PUPILS

AMONG SPRINGFIELD PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Schools Reporting	No. of Schools Without Non-Whites	No. of Schools With Non-Whites	Less Than 1%	PERCENTAGES OF NON-WHITES									
				1 — 10%	11 — 20%	21 — 30%	31 — 40%	41 — 50%	51 — 60%	61 — 70%	71 — 80%	81 — 90%	91 — 100%
49	5	44	10 20.40%	18 36.73%	5 10.20%	2 4.08%	None 0.0%	1 2.04%	3 6.12%	1 2.04%	1 2.04%	3 6.12%	None 0.0%

Massachusetts Schools Containing 51 to 100 Per Cent Non-White Children

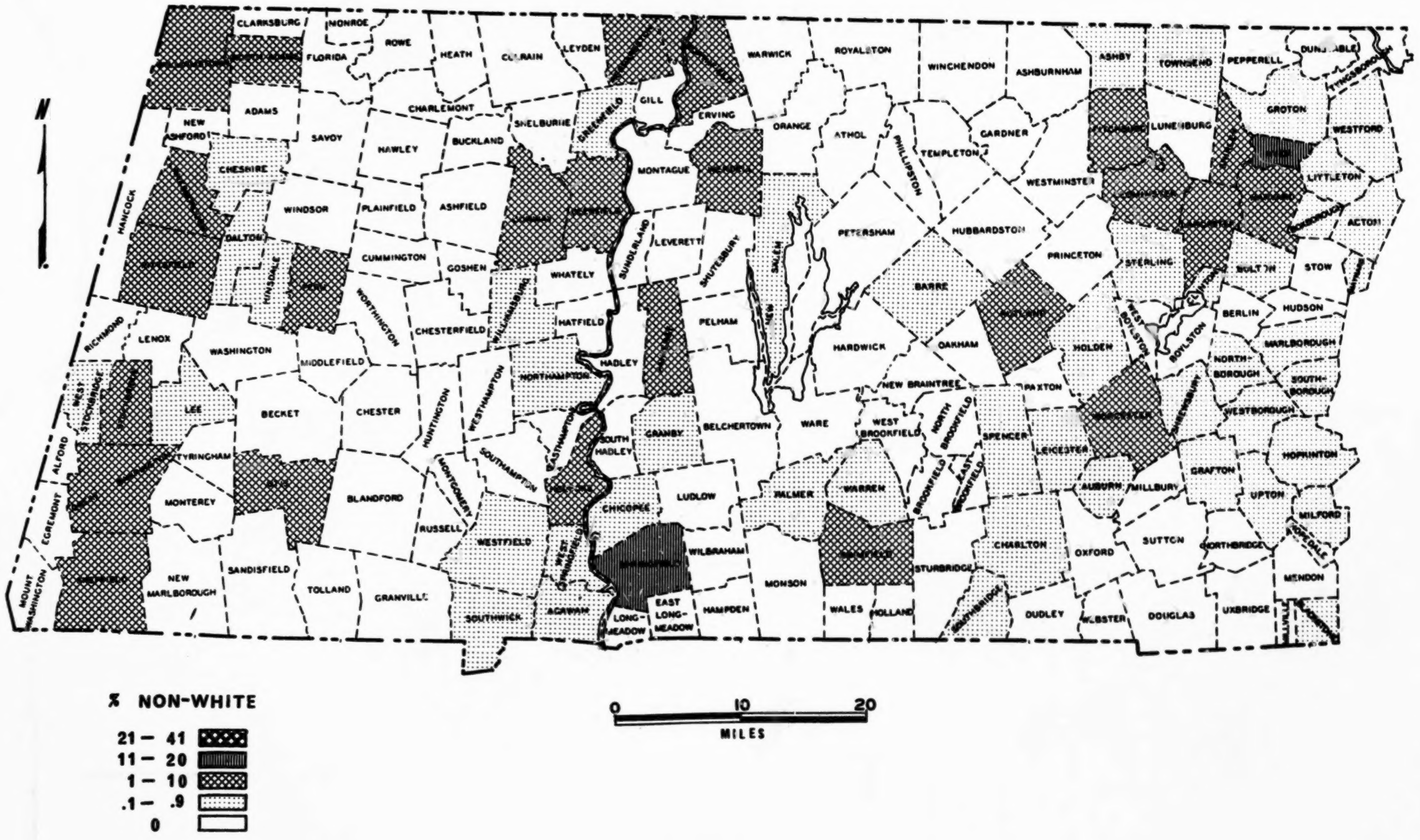
Community	*School*	*White*	*Non-White*	*Total*	*Per Cent Non-White*
Boston	Lewis Annex		59	59	100.0
Boston	Lewis Jr. High School	3	563	566	99.5
Boston	Hyde School	3	324	327	99.1
Boston	Everett School	3	256	259	98.8
Boston	Asa Gray School	4	285	289	98.6
Boston	Wm. L. P. Boardman Sch.	3	194	197	98.5
Boston	David A. Ellis School	10	631	641	98.4
Boston	Phillips Brooks School	11	625	636	98.4
Boston	Henry L. Higginson Sch.	6	314	320	98.1
Boston	Ira Allen School	4	195	199	98.1
Boston	Julia Ward Howe School	8	402	410	98.0
Boston	David A. Ellis Annex	4	148	152	97.6
Boston	Quincy Dickerman Sch.	12	474	486	97.5
Boston	Williams School	4	138	142	97.5
Boston	Garrison School	36	1096	1132	96.8
Boston	William Bacon School	9	267	276	96.7
Boston	Sarah J. Baker School	31	686	717	95.7
Boston	Pat. T. Campbell Jr. High	56	730	786	92.9
Boston	Quincy School	12	148	160	92.5
Boston	Business Educ. Annex	4	42	46	91.3
Boston	Nathan Hale School	35	349	384	90.9
Springfield	Deberry School	57	560	617	90.7
Boston	Dillaway School	38	300	338	88.7
Boston	Abby W. May School	22	160	182	88.0
Boston	Wm. E. Endicott School	50	336	386	87.2
Boston	James P. Timilty Jr. High	93	620	713	86.9
Springfield	Eastern Avenue School	30	194	224	86.6
Boston	Chas. C. Perkins School	44	259	303	85.5
Boston	Dudley School	51	299	350	85.4
Springfield	Hooker School	85	401	486	82.5
Boston	Jos. J. Hurley School	108	500	608	82.2
Boston	Albert Palmer School	52	161	213	75.7
Springfield	Tapley School	172	517	689	75.0
Boston	Atherton School	68	203	271	74.9
Boston	Aaron Davis School	103	263	366	71.8
Boston	O. W. Holmes Jr. High	192	471	663	71.0
Boston	Joshua Bates School	51	121	172	70.6
Boston	Girls High School	235	561	796	70.5
Boston	John Winthrop School	143	319	462	69.0
Boston	Dearborn Annex	79	172	251	68.5
Boston	George Bancroft School	67	132	199	66.6
Boston	Chris. Gibson School	252	478	730	65.5
Boston	Dearborn School	199	373	572	65.2
Springfield	Buckingham Jr. High Sch.	409	703	1112	63.2
Boston	Chas. E. Mackey School	281	448	729	61.4
Boston	Abraham Lincoln School	162	250	412	60.8
Springfield	Ells School	175	269	444	60.5
Springfield	Carew Street School	168	241	409	59.0

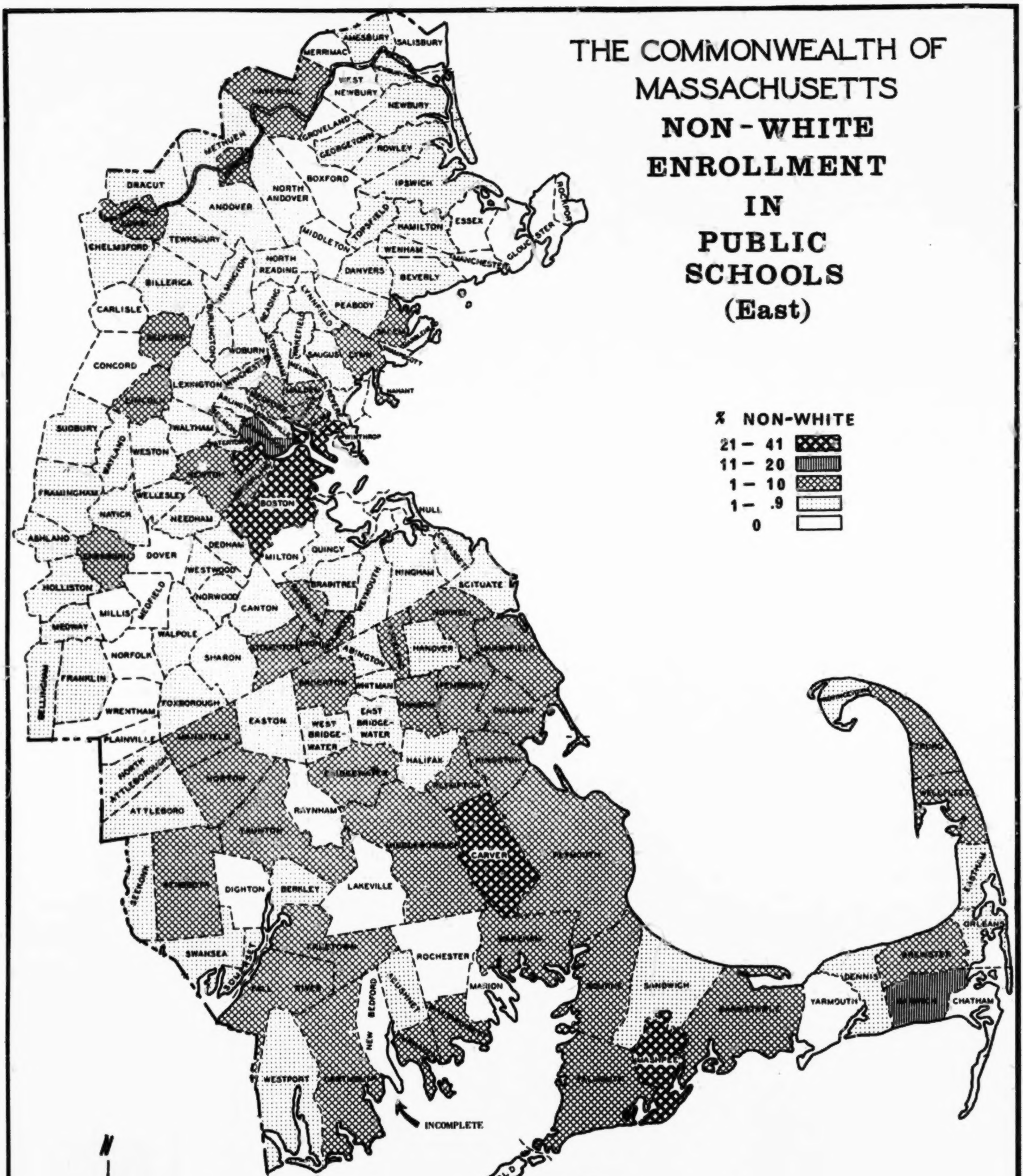
Community	*School*	*White*	*Non-White*	*Total*	*Per Cent Non-White*
Springfield	Brookings School	359	510	869	58.6
Medford	Hervey School	118	162	280	57.8
Boston	Farragut School	134	165	299	55.1
Boston	Maurice J. Tobin School	325	383	708	54.1
Boston	Sarah Greenwood School	485	548	1033	53.0
Cambridge	Houghton School	268	288	556	51.9
Boston	David L. Barrett School	32	34	66	51.7

APPENDIX X

Maps Relating to Racial Composition

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS
NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS (West)

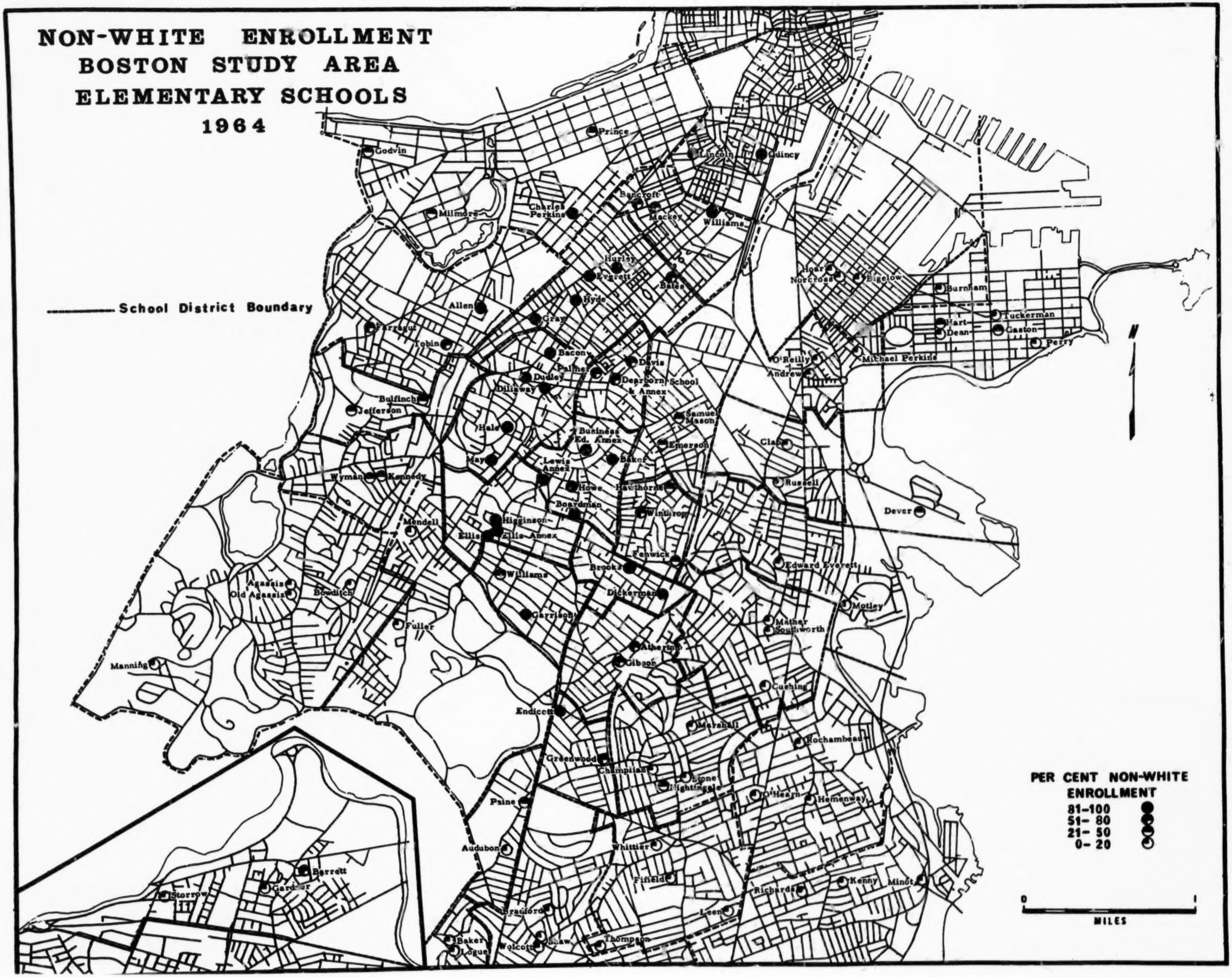




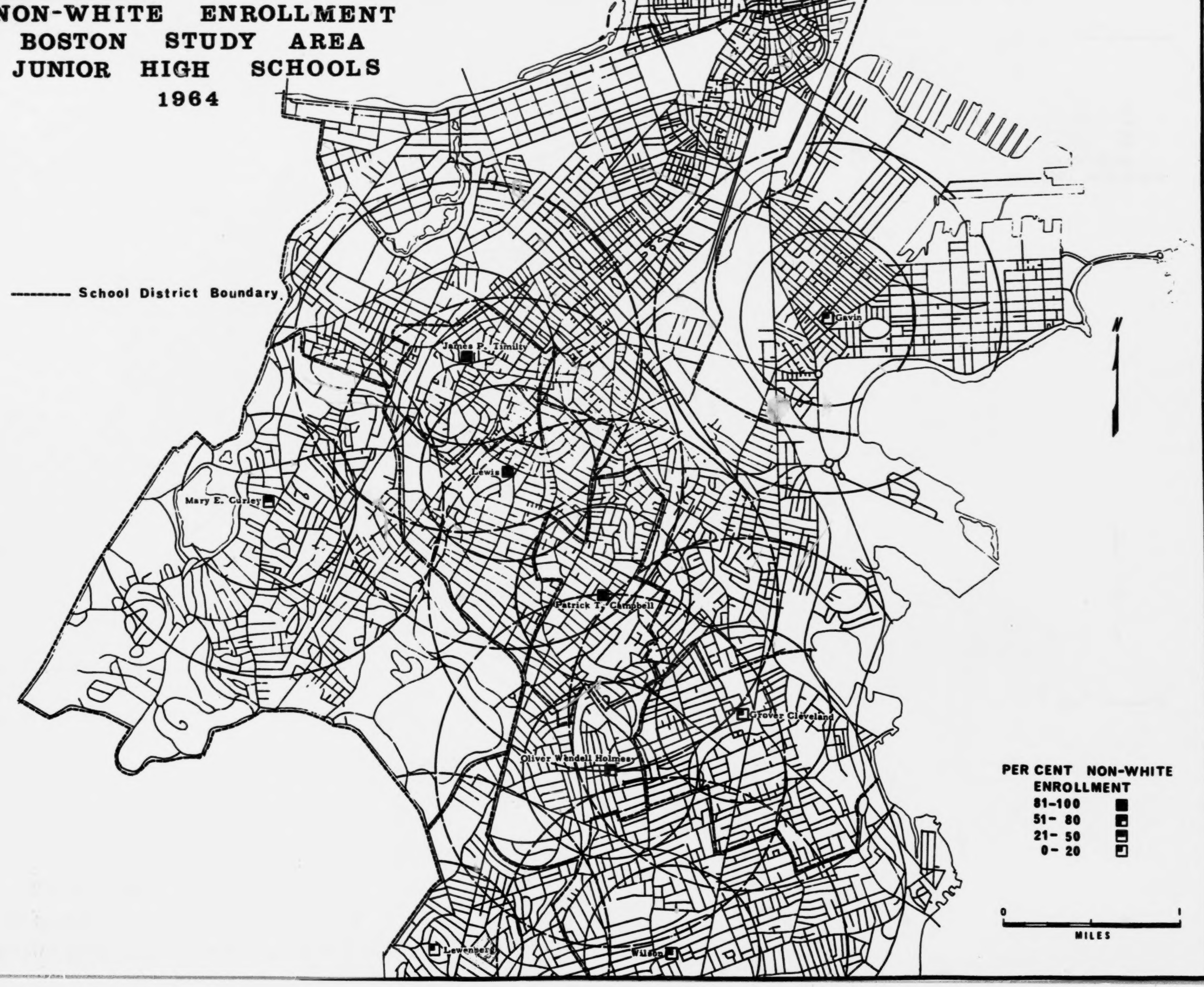
THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS (East)

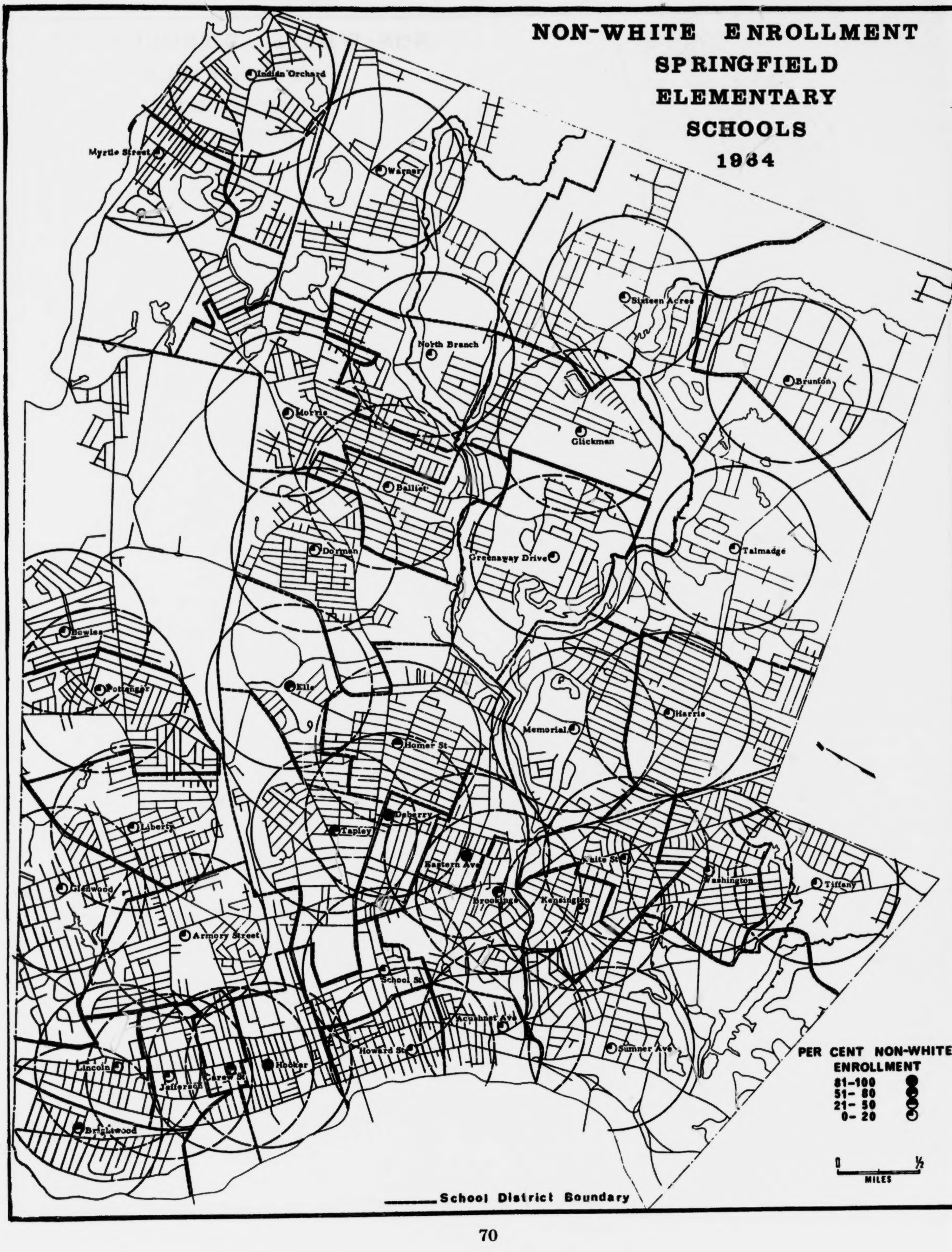
NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT
BOSTON STUDY AREA
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
1964

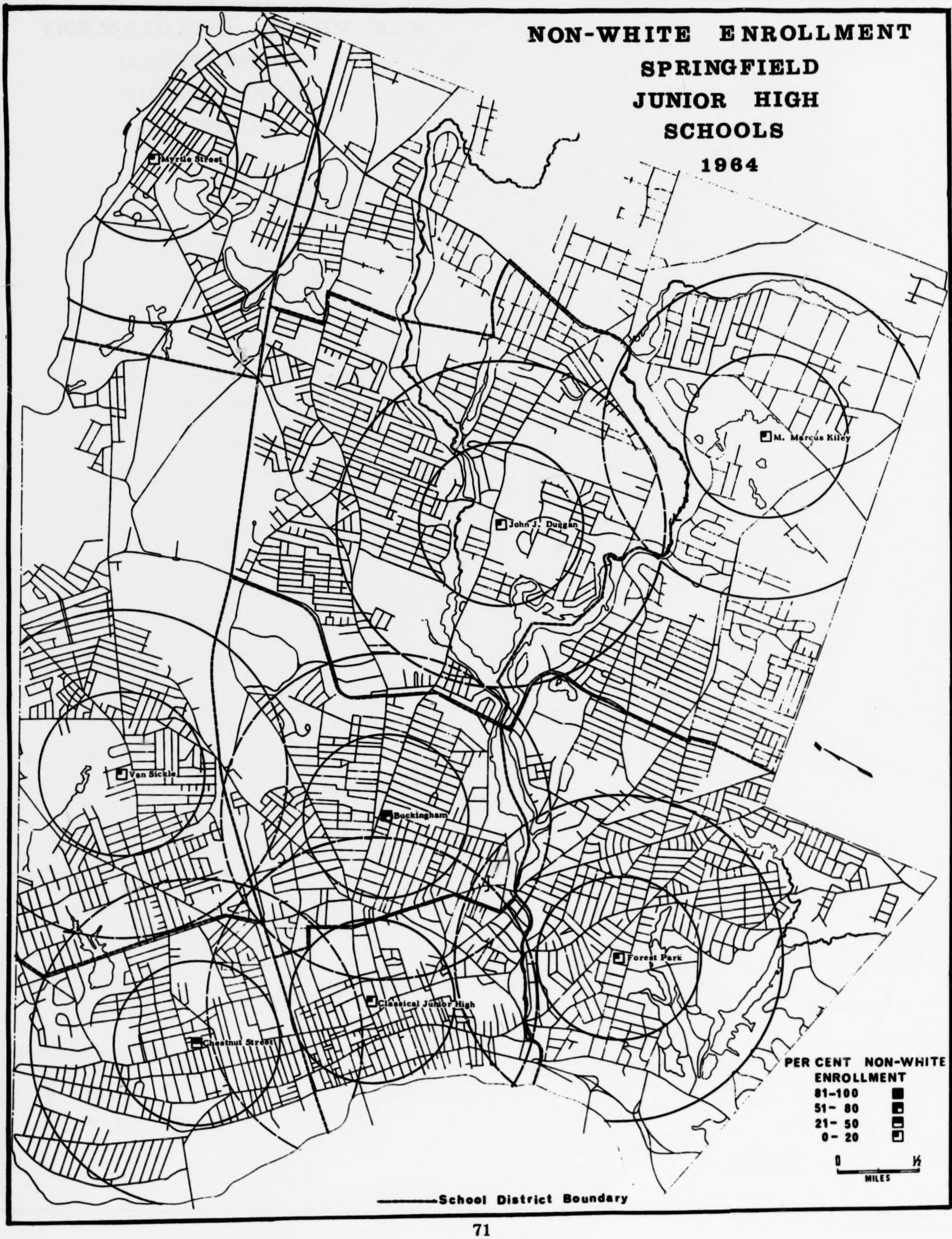


NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT
BOSTON STUDY AREA
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS
1964



NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT
SPRINGFIELD
ELEMENTARY
SCHOOLS
1964





NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT SPRINGFIELD JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS 1964

Because It Is Right—
EDUCATIONALLY

PART TWO

RESEARCH PAPERS
relating to
RACIAL IMBALANCE AND EDUCATION

April, 1965

INTRODUCTION

The research papers that comprise this part of our report represent a carefully selected body of material which, in our judgment, will help to clarify and to substantiate the many positions and academic stands which we have taken in Part One. We hope that these papers will be read with great care by educators and all others who bear the responsibility of implementing our recommendations and related suggestions. We ask that these and comparable studies "in depth" constitute the bases for wide discussion which hopefully will lead to wise decisions. To act on opinion when thoughtful consideration is required is to perform a disservice to the needs of children and youth.

A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL CONCEPT

Prepared by:
JEAN D. GRAMBS, Ed.D.
University of Maryland

> ROCHESTER, N.Y. . . .
>
> The neighborhood school is a tenet of American educational faith, Justice William G. Easton said. While segregation (not racial imbalance) in our schools by law or in fact is to be abhorred, it is detrimental to both Negro and white children to uproot them from their communities and haul them from one school to another to force integration in an artificial and unworkable manner.
>
> (*The Miami Herald*, Friday, April 3, 1964, p. 5 — B)

New York State Supreme Court Justice William G. Easton expresses a widely-held lay view of one aspect of American education. When he states that, "the neighborhood school is a tenet of American faith," he is asserting what has been a generally accepted version of the local school unit.

It is indeed true that there is significant feeling about the neighborhood school. What we need to ask in the present period is whether this feeling about the school is one based on the reality of the educational experience of children, or whether it has some of the character of a myth based on nostalgia for a bygone era. The question becomes: is there in fact a neighborhood school in most of our school districts which has significant educational meaning for children, teachers and parents?

Let us examine the background for today's local school:

The local school, serving an identifiable community, whether it be town, village or section of a city, has a long history. Traditional expectations have tended to grow up around this institutional setting. Like the country courthouse set in the shaded square, the neighborhood school has been seen as a central focus of radiating streets. Down these streets children came and went through the tides of the school day and year. The 'walking distance' school was a reality for all the generations before hard surface roads and school buses; if you could not walk the distance (or had no horse to ride) you did not get to school.

Like other institutions, the school's setting has shifted to meet new educational and social needs. Strong pressures have removed the one-teacher rural school from the landscape in most places in the United States; where such schools remain, population is just too thin, and consolidation would be over too vast an area even for a school bus. Rural areas could not support needed school services if each crossroads had its own tiny school. Consolidation was not easy; many a school district fought against consolidation since there was a strong feeling for the old local school; but the obvious advantages for children eventually have convinced the most resistant. States, through equalization funds, have helped the consolidation process, in large part because of the knowledge that the advantages of the larger consolidated school outweighed the traditional feeling about the small local school.

While the public schools were being established, another type of school came into being. This was the independent school, either private or parochial. Such schools drew children from all areas of a community from the very beginning. The private residential school gathered its student body from all over a state or region or even nation. Few private schools at any time have been able to draw upon a large enough local clientele to be 'walking distance' schools for very many of their students. Today the private schools in urban and suburban areas have their own fleets of buses. Interestingly enough, one notices that many of these schools, particularly in suburbia, are for very young children: nursery school through grades one or two or three. Often, these are the children of working mothers who cannot afford full time day care at home. Private schools are the answer. Many such schools provide not only an instructional day, but care from early morning until late afternoon. The children may ride as long as 45 minutes to and from such schools. For the segment of the school age population which attends such schools, or attends residential institutions, the neighborhood school is not a reality, or apparently a necessity.

For those who have always patronized private schools there never was a concept of the neighborhood as the "natural" base for the educational unit. The meaningful reference-group which has often attracted the parents to the private school was the social position of other patrons; there were seen to be distinct advantages in having one's child attend such a school because of the contacts he would make, even if it did mean extracting him from his neighborhood play group. The selective parochial high school in metropolitan areas similarly draws students from a wide sector, and typically does not restrict attendance by parish. Again, parents send their children to such schools, often at some cost in both time, money and convenience, because of the advantage they have seen accruing from such attendance.

What happens to the child who goes to a school outside his district? In the case of the private or parochial school student, the parents involved have made a decision which means that their youngster will spend his school hours with other children from distant parts of the community, and will return to play with quite another group. If such a displacement works against the child's growth and development, it is not apparent in the decision parents make, and children accept to go to a school outside their play area. Studies are lacking to tell us how many transfers from private or parochial schools into public school were due to the insistence of children to be in the same school with their out-of-school playmates.

Another factor which has changed the picture of the local school serving a local community is the fact that a city neighborhood, particularly in a major center, can hardly be thought of as a neighborhood in the small town or suburban tract sense. The neighborhood for a dweller in a high density area might be his apartment house. Some high-rise apartments may have as many residents as a small town. With high population density has come high transiency. Urban renewal often has removed local landmarks which once helped to establish the feel of a neighborhood. But increasingly, greater concentrations of people have resulted in greater movement of people. The transiency itself may be due to a feeling of rootlessness, or the rootlessness may produce the transiency, but observers have noted that slum families move often. They do not move far away, maybe only a few blocks, but they move.

Administrators of public education in big cities typically insist that a child relocate in a new school if he moves into a new district; and in a big city this may mean that a move of only four blocks is into a new school district. Yet the same administrators complain about the problem of transiency because it interferes with the educational progress of a child. Administrators do not see how to keep a child in one school, though outside his district, even if by so doing he might be helped academically. (Matrin Mayer, "A Perspective" in Schreibner, Daniel (ed) *The School Dropout*, Washington, D.C. 1964 p. 209)

In the case of the slum child whose family moves often, there is clear lack of educational utility in the strict application of the neighborhood school concept. When district lines are rigidly held to, a child may be actually hurt by the need to go to the neighborhood school if he is the child of a highly mobile family. If district lines are not rigid, as is true of Baltimore, and a child may stay in the school in which he originally registered, few actually do so. This may be because the school system sees no particular need to help the child and his parents see the value of educational continuity; one suspects that the neighborhood school thinking is too powerful to provide a clear vision of this particular educational problem.

Let us examine the educational experience of the urban or suburban child in a single dwelling area going to a neighborhood elementary school. With the exception of some large suburban developments, any given child may find, within a block, one or two children who are, in fact, in the same grade that he is in. He may find, if fortunate, one child who is actually in the same room. Rarely will the proportion of same grade and same classroom be higher. On his way to school he may pick up one or two more peers — same grade, sometimes same room. Typically then his educational day is experienced with children who are from a different part of the school community, and again typically from a part of the area too far away to be out-of-school playmates.

There are certainly many individuals who can today recall the friends with whom they started first grade and who stood beside them on graduation from high school. This is the vision of a stable American community which pervades many of our pictures of what ought to be. The real difficulty in assessing today's community and today's school is that the memory of the stable neighborhood does not correspond to the facts. There are few communities today in which one could predict, with any degree of confidence, that a child who entered first grade would graduate from high school with *any* of those who entered school when he did *from the same neighborhood.*

Few suburban children wander farther across the street or down one block. Unlike the rural community, urban and suburban neighborhoods have too many factual dangers — cars, high speed roads, delivery trucks, shopping centers — that children are rarely encouraged and often in fact forbidden to go far for playmates.

The net effect is, of course, that children play with those who are available. Even if children could go farther afield, it is likely that the play group would not be circumscribed by rigid age or grade. Children play up and down the age grid. At times a child seeks younger ones to boss, or protect, or teach, or tease. Other times he tags along after the bigger boys hoping to get asked to join the game. He may play with the girls one day and scorn them the next. In other words, the neighborhood play group is not the same as the play group of the school.

Increasingly, as schools are using recess periods and lunch periods for organized games and calisthenics, the child lacks even these free periods to seek out his neighborhood playmates on the playground, even if he could find them. In many schools, too, different age groups eat lunch and are out for recess at different times. Thus even if he wanted to, the procedure of the school will often interfere with his having access to very many of his neighborhood playmates during school hours. Thus the child's view of the school is *not* that of a neighborhood transplanted.

The prize recollection of the neighborhood school included the 'live-in' teacher. The teacher boarded with the local parents, lived in a 'teacherage' near the school, or lived down the block from the school building. Today it is only by remote coincidence that a teacher lives within the same neighborhood where she teaches. This is heavily true of teachers in slum schools and is probably true for about 80% of other teachers. Like other people, teachers live where they feel comfortable and where they can find the housing that pleases them and which they can afford; this does not typically coincide with the school area in which they teach. And, if they once taught in the same neighborhood, it is highly probable that they may have transferred to another school in the same district. The teacher can make a choice of schools within a system. As principals change, as new schools open up, the teacher may become disenchanted with the local school — and vice versa, and request a move to another building. It is a rarity to run into one's local teachers in a local store. In fact, many deliberately decline to live in the local area so that they can have a sense of greater personal freedom. In fact, today's teacher is often encouraged to live outside the school district in which she teaches by the very persons who employ her. It has been recognized that the teacher becomes very 'visible' when living in the area in which she teaches. This is an uncomfortable feeling for many individuals, who prefer the privacy of being in a distant neighborhood to being watched and noticed by several hundred pairs of little eyes. The local teacher as a prop for the neighborhood school is not often found.

Parental identification with the local school has been a subject of much conjecture. Do parents feel a sense of local concern and local pride in their "own" school? Many parents in many school districts are active and interested patrons. Many are not. Families in urban and suburban areas are mobile. The transiency rates may not be as high as in some slum areas, but in some suburban areas they are quite extreme. But even with more stable community areas, the typical pattern of living cuts horizontally through the social fabric. Doctors meet socially with other doctors or professional people; not with the salesman across the street or the bank teller two doors down. The salesman, too, may find his social network through a Toastmaster's Club or old college friends. In other words, the adults of the community are only partially imbedded in the neighborhood as such; much of their significant work and social life takes place outside of this area. For this reason, plus the mobility of families, the neighborhood school is often at a loss to enlist enduring and extensive school support.

We must not forget, too, that with a three level school system — elementary, junior high and senior high — a parent may be part of two or three 'school neighborhoods,' of ever widening geographic boundaries.

What then is the utility of the neighborhood school concept? We have seen that it no longer has the clientele of previous generations who lived within walking distance of the school, and were stable in residence through at least 12 years of schooling. Perhaps nothing has eroded the neighborhood concept more than that of population mobility. It is not just the school that has been affected, but other local institutions. Churches today enroll parishioners from a wide geographic area; the automobile has made this possible. The local grocery store which gave credit and delivered one's order is a rarity these days; it has been replaced by the chain store with its impersonal cash procedures.

Why then do we feel that the neighborhood school, of all such local institutions, is worthy of particular attention? The answer appears to be in the nature of the neighborhoods of today's cities. Geographic areas are distinguishable according to the group that lives there. Such areas may not be neighborhoods in any of the traditional sense of the word; there is usually no great feeling of local loyalty, and there is a diminished attachment to the local school. The distinguishing feature of the "neighborhood" is ethnic similarity. Thus the argument for the neighborhood school can only rest, from a sociological point of view, on a conviction regarding ethnic similarity or solidarity. The assumption here is that persons of like ethnic backgrounds ought to — or prefer to — send their children to schools where there are mostly others of the same group. This is certainly true when the group is Anglo-Saxon white. It is not true when the group is from other ethnic derivations. The member of a non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic group is typically aware of the differences between himself and the white Anglo-Saxon group which appears to control community policies. While the individual may have few illusions about his own chance to change his economic and social position, he, like Americans for two hundred years, has a sense of the potential and opportunity for his children. But this opportunity can only come when and as the child learns the dominant majority group culture. The neighborhood school concept, because of the ethnic housing patterns which exist in almost all cities, means that his child is only able to learn and play with others like himself. These others may not be those he sees on his own block, as noted before, but they come from the same general background. Since there is little neighborhood contact visible in the local school, such a parent sees no particular problem in having his child moved into another area for schooling, if the educational opportunities thus available mean that he will have an enlarged view of the world.

In other words, the local school concept is viable only as it is educationally and socially meaningful. The Catholic parent will send his child across town to go to the best Catholic high school. The parent of a blind child will see his youngster transported many miles for basic education preparatory to eventual integration in regular classrooms. The upward mobile parent buys expensive private day-school education, involving lengthy bus rides, because he feels it is educationally advantageous. Given today's communities, there appear to be few stable elements which *require* a strict adherence to a neighborhood school concept. In fact, as illustrated from the experience of big cities, a strict interpretation of the local school can serve to interfere with the education of highly mobile families.

In conclusion, then, it must be asserted that *educationally* there appears to be little rationale for the neighborhood school. In terms of today's highly mobile communities, the concept itself has little meaning. If local schools attended by those residents in nearby areas are to be established as reasonable, then it must be made clear how and why this idea is *educationally* useful.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EDUCATION OF NEGRO CHILDREN

A Research Summary and Bibliography

Prepared by:

WILLIAM C. KVARACEUS Ed. D.
ALLIE W. SCRUGGS M.Ed.
CHARLES E. SCRUGGS Ph.D.

BACKGROUND

A federally-supported conference on the relationship of the self-concept of Negro youth to education and citizenship was held at the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, from September 16 to September 19, 1963. The present paper represents a condensation of the introductory working paper (32) and discussion at that conference, focused on research findings relative to self-concept and Negro youth. This summary is based mainly on the conference report supported by the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Project No. G-02C) and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development (Grant No. 64203), W. C. Kvaraceus, Chief Investigator, and John S. Gibson, Co-Investigator. In addition, this precis extends the bibliography and makes a limited inquiry into several questions raised during the conference.

Two general hypotheses served as the basis of the development of the September conference materials: first, that the environmental press (57) of the color-caste system tends to develop conceptions of self in Negro children which result in defeated behavior, particularly as far as academic development is concerned; second, that the schools, which tend to serve as part of this defeating press, can serve to strengthen the self-concept of Negro children and youth, with a subsequent strengthening of their performance as students.

Dr. Jean Grambs, in her introductory working paper, "The Self-Concept: Basis for Re-education of Negro Youth" (32), dealt directly with the negative impact of the color-caste system upon the personal and educational development of individuals. She devoted particular attention to the idea and definition of the term"self-concept"; a term broadly defined as the process of identity development and identity maintenance.

Grambs reports the studies of Coleman (11), Jacob (40), and Sanford (71) indicating that education, i.e., the school, has relatively little change-impact upon attitude and behavior. These studies indicate that most students enter school, whether high school or college, and leave it without any visible change in terms of their attitudes and behavioral patterns. Some students are changed, certainly, but these changes occur only when the total environment and atmosphere is consistent and pressing or, as Sanford (71) indicates, due to the particular personality of the particular person. The most common pattern, however, was in the direction of reinforcement; that is, the intellectual becomes more intellectual, the nonconformist becomes more deviant, the conservative more entrenched in conservatism (71). The schools, then, as Grambs indicates, seem to reinforce attitudes and behaviors already present in the student.

FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

In specific terms of the Negro child, Dr. Charles Pinderhughes (63) has testified that a school that is racially imbalanced imparts and perpetuates negative cultural characteristics. Large numbers of Negro children, he stated, show inhibiting and retarding effects of prior and present patterns of segregation and discrimination. His contention was that the schools, if they are racially imbalanced, served to reinforce what is already, or is rapidly becoming, a negative self-concept experienced by the children attending such schools.

Grambs, starting with the two assumptions stated earlier, *viz.* 1) the environmental press of the color-caste system tends to develop negative self-concepts in Negro children, and 2) the schools can serve to strengthen the self-concept of Negro children with a subsequent strengthening of their performance as students, makes the following proposal:

> If we make use of the idea of deliberate efforts on the part of the school to change the self-concept of students, we will appreciably affect their total educational as well as personal experiences (32).

QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED

To test the hypothesis it is necessary to raise several specific questions:

1. Is there evidence that cultural press is in fact producing a negative self-concept in Negro children and youth?
2. What is the role of education in altering and developing a sense of self?
3. What is the potential within the educational setting for achieving a desirable shift in self-image and, thereby, raising the level of academic achievement?

With these specific queries in mind, let us now review available research literature to see what answers may be forthcoming.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

According to the self-concept theory of personality, an individual's behavior is determined by the perceptions he has of himself as an individual and of the world around him (36). Stated in broader terms, adequately functioning personalities see themselves in essentially positive ways. They assume that they are persons that are liked, wanted, and valued for their own sakes and, as a result, they become self-confident, self-assured, self-reliant members of society. Self-depreciation, on the other hand, results in a lessening of effective functioning. Combs (14) feels that thousands of people in our society are victims of their own self-concepts. Seeing themselves inadequate, they perform inadequately.

That self-acceptance is a necessary characteristic for good mental health has been supported by a number of therapists. Carl Rogers (69) reports that he has found that whenever changes occur in the perception of self and in the perception of reality, changes occur in behavior.

Research by Raimy (64) evaluating outcomes of therapeutic counseling has revealed shifts of attitude in the successfully counseled cases to that of self-approval. From this study, Raimy concludes that whatever a person believes about himself is a generally accepted factor in the social comprehension of others, and that individuals act in accordance with their own perceptions.

In terms of question 1., i.e., *how and what kinds of self-concepts children and youth develop*, we have some research insights into the influence of the parents, the immediate neighborhood and the broad environment in which the child finds himself. Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (73) have demonstrated the influence of differential treatment that parents accord their children and the subsequent development of negative self-concepts. Kardiner and Ovesey (45) have pointed out that the ways in which children are reared, the things that they are told to do or not to do, the reward or punishment patterns for competencies or the lack of competencies, all tend to produce basic personality types that are consistent with the overall cultural patterns in which the children live. Venturing outside the family provides the child with additional clues to his self-worth. He learns about himself from other children on the block who communicate to him, by action and words, how they feel about him, and as he meets teachers, policemen, shopkeepers, he is told and learns what these powerful persons think of people like him. Out of these countless messages, the individual contrives and formulates a picture of who and what he is (81).

In broader terms, it is obvious that individuals develop different concepts of themselves, and that the concept of self is always in terms of degrees of *adequacy*. Everyone must have a sense of adequacy, no matter how minimal, or he cannot cope with his own existence. As Combs and Snygg (13) write, we can define man's basic need as a need for adequacy. Jersild (43) goes further and says that the needs associated with a person's idea and appraisal of himself include both the desire for enhancing his self-esteem and also a striving to preserve the integrity or consistency of the self.

In the formulation of the Negro child's self-concept, new factors and considerations are introduced. As Grambs indicates, one of the clearest differences between Negro and white children is that society in the contemporary United States continually tells each group that they are different. Not only different, but that the Negro group is considered inferior to the white group. It is obvious that this kind of differential social communication is going to have a differential impact on the personality (32).

The self-concept of the Negro child is contaminated by the central fact that it is based on a color-caste complex. Interestingly, a review and evaluation of the research reveals almost a complete absence of research that considers race or the color-caste complex as an aspect of the self-concept (91; see, however, 4, 8, 9, 10). Kardiner and Ovesey conclude that the Negro personality *cannot* be unmarked by the experience of caste discrimination based upon color. The self-esteem of the Negro is damaged by the overwhelming fact that the world he lives in says, "white is right; black is bad" (45). The literature would imply that the effect of the total environmental press is damaging and widespread. As Combs and Snygg (13) point out, responses to feelings of inadequacy range from the neurotic through perceptual distortions and may result in actual psychoses. The production of "multiple personalities" is, as they see it, one response to the social disvalue placed on being a Negro as graphically stated by Redding (66):

> From adolescence to death there is something very personal about being a Negro in America. It is like having a second ego which is as much the conscious subject of all experience as the natural self. It is not what the psychologists call dual personality. It's more complex and, I think, more morbid than that. In the state of which I speak, one receives two distinct reactions — the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other entirely different, but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness or Negroness (66, p. 12).

Redding's subjective evaluations are not without some research support. The studies and writings of Harrington (35), Riessman (67), Deutsch (18), and Riese (67) indicate that the self that the Negro child learns early in life is one exposed to the most difficult of all situations for the human being to cope with: an inadequate family living on the edge of economic insufficiency. The impact of family disruption is accentuated by the incapacity of those involved in the rearing of children to do an adequate job of it, because they have had few experiences with family stability and adequacy to guide them. The circle, then, is a vicious one.

The culture as a whole, or indeed as Morland (54) says, the American society, educates for prejudice. Studies in both Northern and Southern communities in the United States show that Negro as well as white children develop bias for the white race at an early age (54, 55, 56). One study has suggested that within each race there is significant regional variation in the age at which pre-school children learn to recognize race differences. This study found that white children in segregated Southern nursery schools learned to make correct racial designations at an earlier age than Negro children (55). This is in direct contrast to what has been found in integrated nursery schools in the North (30). But in all regions where studies have been made, young children have shown a preference for whites over Negroes. Thus, the Clarks found that a majority of Negro children tested in Massachusetts and Arkansas who were asked to choose between white and colored dolls showed a decided preference for white dolls (10). Similarily, Butts (4) discovered that a group of Negro children of both sexes between the ages of 9 and 12 — with an impairment of their self-esteem — perceived themselves less accurately in terms of skin color than children with less self-esteem impairment. Landreth and Johnson (49) in similar studies reached the conclusion that lower-class Negro children responded to skin color specifically in terms of value-judgments. Kardiner and Ovesey, pursuing the effects of low self-esteem, have postulated that a dynamic sequence occurs in which low self-esteem in Negroes results in an idealization of the whites and frantic efforts to be white. This ideal being unattainable eventuates in hostility toward whites, self-hatred, and hatred of other Negroes (45: see also: 80, 33).

In terms of question 2., *what is the role of education in altering and developing a sense of self?* Are there data to indicate a relationship between the school function and self-concept? The study by Campbell, Yarrow, and Yarrow (6) suggests that an integrated group experience did have a significant effect on the self-perceptions of children, in particular, Negro children. The permanence of this change, however, the authors state, would depend, in large part, on the support for such a change on the return home. Studies of school desegregation have shown tendencies toward better school achievement on the part of Negro youth, but so far, relatively little has been done to explore the changes in self-concept that might have occurred and the causes for such change. In fact, some indications are that integration actually lessens the Negro child's view of himself; that is, Negroes growing up in segregated communities and attending segregated schools tend to have a higher appraisal of Negroes in general, according to one study (26). This supports, too, the finding of Campbell, Yarrow, and Yarrow (6) that in the initial stages of a camp experience, Negro children were highly tentative and withdrawn, expressing frequently fear that *other* Negro children would not behave properly.

There have been several studies related to in-school settings. In a study in 1960, Shaw, Edson, and Bell (77) making use of an adjective checklist, reported finding that bright underachieving male high students had more negative self-concepts than students who were equally bright but achieving. They also concluded that among a similar population of underachieving females, great ambivalence with respect to self-concept was reflected in the seemingly conflicting adjectives used by this group to describe themselves. Grambs and Waetjen (84), however, conclude that in general the Negro girl accommodates better than Negro boys. They indicate that in school performance the Negro girl invariably exceeds the Negro boy, and that further, in most measures of social disorganization, the Negro boy appears to be far more vulnerable to the throes of the environmental press. Similarly, the Ausubels (2) found that Negro girls in schools in racially incapsulated areas are less traumatized than boys by the impact of racial discrimination. Lott and Lott (51) also concluded that on the surface, Negro girls seem more able to cope with the demands of middle-class society.

In 1963, Shaw and Alves (76) did a follow-up of the 1960 Shaw, Edson, and Bell study (77) and confirmed the results of the 1960 study which suggested that male underachievers had more negative self-concepts than male achievers. In addition, the male underachievers reported themselves as being less self-accepting and attributed a similar lack of self-acceptance to their peers.

The studies strongly indicate a direct association between negative self-concept attitudes and academic achievement, when ability levels are equal (76, 77).

Shaw (75) summarized a number of other studies that consistently revealed lower average IQ's among children in racially incapsulated areas. At one point, Shaw cited figures that indicated that in one of the disadvantaged districts in New York City the IQ scores declined as the children grew older. For example, the median IQ in grade one was 95; in grade three, 92; in grade six, 87; and in grade eight, 82 (75, p. 91). A partial explanation is that such children as these receive relatively little of the ego satisfactions, the rewards, and the feeling of belonging that society has to offer.

In terms of question 3., we may now properly ask, *what is the potential within the educational setting for achieving a desirable shift in the self-image of Negro children and, thereby, raising the level of academic achievement*? There have been several recent studies which would indicate that a change in self-perception from negative to positive would enhance the Negro child's ability to perform at a higher academic level. We have already reviewed the studies of Shaw and others (75, 76, 77) and seen that when all other factors are held constant, a negative self-concept can be correlated with a low academic achievement. In addition, studies done in reading and the self-concept (37, 78) and counseling to alter the self-concept (86) also indicate a strong relationship between the self-concept and learning behavior. Smith (78) found that 60 per cent of a group studied had experienced changes in attitude as a result of reading prepared materials. An additional 10 per cent, it was reported, showed changes in their behavior as a result of reading prepared materials. Further inquiry into the role of reading and the self-concept would be indicated by the findings in these studies. As an aside, it might be pointed out that comments and observations about the absence of materials that create positive images for Negro children in textbooks and reading matter associated with the schools in general are legion, and this is another area that could be further investigated.

The most impressive group of studies relating changes in the self-concept to the variables of counseling are those originated at the University of Chicago Counseling

Center under the direction of Carl Rogers. In one study, Butler and Haigh (3) demonstrated that discrepancies between Q sorts for Self and Ideal Self were reduced in counseled clients, particularly in those clients judged most improved. Similarly, Rosalind Dymond (20) developed an adjustment score for the Butler and Haigh Q-Sort Test and demonstrated significant increases in self-concept adjustment scores concurrent with counseling. In another study, Rosalind (Dymond) Cartwright (7) had clients describe themselves in relationship to three "important others" and found increased congruence among the three descriptions as a result of successful therapy. Rudikoff (70) studied comparative changes in perceptions of Self, Ideal, and Ordinary Person as a function of client-centered counseling. She reported a tendency for all three concepts to become more congruent as a result of counseling, and this increased congruence was maintained over a six month follow-up. John Williams (86) following the lead of the Chicago studies in a more recent study concluded that educational-vocational counseling can restore a normal level of adjustment and degree of congruence among the client's perceptions of himself, his ideal self, and other persons.

CONCLUSION

It sould be clear at this point that much of the research in the role of self-concept is suggestive, tentative, and explorative. It remains more descriptive than definitive. What is needed is a more exact formulation of the theoretical framework within which the self-concept plays the predominant role, and further elaboration of research methodologies which will provide new insights into the world of the Negro child. Lacking these, the research will remain fragmented and uncontrolled. There is enough research evidence to indicate, however, that the environmental press, when reviewed in the framework of the color-caste complex, is sufficiently powerful to damage the self-concept of children living at the marginal level.

As a final statement, we may properly close this presentation with a quotation from the introduction of the three working papers of the Conference on the Relationship of the Self-Concept of Negro Youth to Education and Citizenship.

> All self-concepts are significant in understanding individuals. But those that are of greater concern to us as educators and citizens are the negative ones. The child with a negative view of self is a child who will not be able to profit adequately from school. Once a child is convinced he cannot learn in school, the task of educators becomes almost impossible. He may well make trouble for his classmates, his teachers, and himself. A negative self-concept is just as crippling, because it is often hidden from view of the naive or untrained observer. Most children who hate themselves act out this self-hatred by, literally, kicking the world around them. They are abusive, aggressive, hard to control, full of anger and hostility at a world which has told them that they are not valued, are not good, are not going to be given a chance. And such attitudes often continue to cripple an adult life (60).

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Note: The term press is borrowed from Henry A. Murray, in whose usage it meant a tendency or "potency" in the environment to facilitate or obstruct an organism. Murray defined press as "a temporal gestalt of stimuli which usually appears in the guise of a *threat of harm* or *promise of benefit* to the organism." See pp. 40-41, 115.

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF RACIALLY-BALANCED SCHOOLS

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW and PATRICIA J. PAJONAS
Harvard University

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INTRODUCTION

"What's racial balance got to do with education?" recently asked a puzzled school committee member at a public hearing in a northeastern city. "Good schools are good schools," he continued, "it's the quality of teaching that counts. We have schools where almost all the children are Irish, some with almost all Italians, others with Chinese or Jews or what have you. Why are you Negroes so upset over your schools having mostly colored children?"

He peered down through the glare of the television klieg lights at the local Negro leaders who faced him. The mass media covered every word of the proceedings; the overflow crowd packed into the small chamber listened intently for the answers. Much of the media audience and the crowd in attendance were in as honest bewilderment as the questioning committee member. Why, indeed, are Negroes so upset over unbalanced schools?

Answers to this query come from many directions. Some are historical. Negroes are the only Americans who ever endured slavery,[1] and whose very skin color activates to this day the stigma associated with that experience. Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Jewish-Americans have all faced group discrimination in the New World; but none has known the degradation of slavery nor still confronts daily discrimination at every turn. Nor have these other ethnic groups suffered from a vast system of legal and extra-legal segregation which in time made separation synonymous with rejection and oppression. Consequently, Negro Americans learned early that, for them at least, racially balanced facilities are necessary if they are to receive anything resembling equal opportunity.

Some of the answers are political and legal. Even in brick and mortar terms, separate facilities for Negroes nearly always means inferior facilities. Whether in the North or South, political realities mitigate against predominantly Negro schools receiving truly comparable instructions and facilities. In the northeastern school system of the questioning school committeeman, for example, the primarily Negro schools in the midst of the city's ghetto are typically older, more crowded, and allocate less money per pupil than the average school in the system. Put bluntly, balanced schools are needed to insure the necessary political leverage; many white school officials reveal a strong interest in the education of Negroes only when Negroes are found in the same schools with sufficiently large numbers of whites.[2]

On *de jure* segregation, the Supreme Court of the United States has spoken emphatically. As early as 1873 in Washington, Alexander & Georgetown Railroad Company v. Catherine Brown, the High Court held that separate rail cars for the two races were in themselves discriminatory, regardless of how physically equal they might be. Eighty-one years later, in the famous 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Public School desegregation opinion, the Court returned to this doctrine: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

On *de facto* segregation, however, the law is only now being formulated. But the trend may be heading in a similar direction. A recent Illinois state statute prohibits unbalanced schools; and a recent decision of the highest state court of California favored the creation of balanced schools in a case that did not involve prior acts of explicit discrimination by the school board. These laws and decisions do more than clear the path toward racially-integrated education. They also convince many Negroes that their dissatisfaction with segregated schools is both well-founded and worthy of protest action. Legal gains educate both whites who resist and Negroes who insist.

Further reasons for the Negro's concern involves the "American Dream" in its broadest dimensions. The Negro American is totally American; his fourteen generations here have completely immersed him in the culture. Almost two centuries of African colonization schemes for Negroes have failed to budge him; the Communist Party's tireless efforts to exploit his poverty and oppressed status have miserably failed;[3] and even the present Negro revolution aims to join, rather than to destroy, the society it confronts. This basically American orientation means most Negroes have both internalized the American dream of equal opportunity and decided that the highly-valued institution of public education should be the critical focus of the effort to achieve that dream for their children. Moreover, racially-balanced schools are viewed by many Negroes as the only form of public education which can adequately fulfill the dream; for they are convinced that only integrated living begun in the earliest years can ever eradicate racial bigotry.

Leading from these historical, political, legal, and cultural reasons, there are a variety of critical social psychological reasons why racially-unbalanced schools are a realistic focus of such intense concern today. This paper concentrates upon these psychological factors, though such factors must be evaluated within the perspective of these broader social forces just enumerated. For heuristic convenience, the social psychology of racially-balanced schools can be discussed in terms of four interrelated realms: (1) human verbal learning; (2) communication; (3) creativity; and (4) personality dynamics.

HUMAN VERBAL LEARNING

A series of early studies on human retention and forgetting of verbal material developed an important learning principle of special relevance. In one 1953 investigation, subjects learned a list of paired syllables presented against a colored background.[4] Later the experimental group was shown the same syllables presented against a differently colored background. When compared with the performance of controls, this change in background diminished the amount and accuracy of recall and increased the trials needed to relearn the material. Other research demonstrates a similar effect. A switch in sensory mode of presentation between the learning and recall situations, for instance, results in decreased recall; thus, material learned auditorially is not well recalled visually and vice versa.[5]

Social, as well as sensory, changes in the learning context can also lead to impaired recall performance. One study noted that, when the initial learning took place without an audience, the presence of a small audience during relearning impaired retention.[6] And another investigation found that under normal classroom conditions recall is diminished when either the classroom or the proctor in the original learning situation is changed.[7] Indeed, this same research showed that even further impairment resulted when both the classroom and the proctor were changed.

Case illustrations support these findings in a variety of real life situations. A number of such cases cited in the literature involve the return of language skills once the individual is re-established in the locale where the language was originally learned.[8] Other examples report the sudden return of childhood memories when individuals re-enter their childhood environments.[9]

All of these data point to a basic principle of human learning: *Alteration of salient environmental features associated with original learning results in diminished retention and performance.*[10] Two processes underlie this principle. Altered conditions deter performance in part because the stimuli necessary to elicit the originally learned acts are not effectively present; and they also deter performance because new stimuli are introduced which evoke responses which compete with the originally learned acts.[11]

The extension of this learning principle to the problem of racially-balanced schools should be obvious to all persons who have thought about the future of American race relations. The desegregation process in both the North and South continually leads to a rapid proliferation of interracial work situations — in factories, retail stores, offices, and the Armed Forces. Members of both races are called upon to perform side by side, though they typically received their initial training in largely uniracial schools. This change in racial composition between the learning and the performance situations is a salient alteration of the context,[12] acting much as the shift in classrooms and proctors mentioned earlier. Thus, even before more complex communication, creativity, and personality processes are considered, a simple learning principle highlights the necessity of balanced schools for both Negroes and whites. Maximum performance as adults requires that the initial learning situation resemble in critical features the later work situation. With interracial work situations rapidly becoming the rule, not the exception, schools are thus called upon to provide similarly interracial learning situations. Racially-balanced schools become necessary preparation for tomorrow's racially-balanced world.

The importance of this racial comparability of learning and performance situations is heightened when one remembers the enormity of the occupational upgrading that Negro Americans must achieve to enter the economic mainstream of the nation. Automation makes the problem particularly acute. Save for service employment, Negroes are concentrated in precisely those unskilled sectors of the labor market which are contracting (farm worker and laborer) and grossly underrepresented in those skilled sectors which are expanding most rapidly (professional, technical, clerical, and sales workers).[13] Nor did the 1950's witness the scale of improvement required by the problem. Glenn calculates that at the 1950 to 1960 rate of change non-whites in the United States would not attain their proportional representation among clerical workers until 1992, among skilled workers until 2005, among professionals until 2017, among sales workers until 2114, and among business managers and proprietors until 2730![14] Clearly, the occupational upgrading of Negroes must accelerate to a pace five to eight times as fast as that of the 1950's. Such a rapid increment must necessarily entail not only significant breakthroughs against employment discrimination, but superior educational advantages in balanced schools. Distinctly superior schools are mandatory because this degree of mobility and upgrading is considerably greater than even the most striving of immigrant groups ever achieved during earlier times in northern cities. And balanced schools are mandatory because the positions for which Negro youth must aim — professional, technical, clerical, and sales — are found in appreciable numbers only in the broader society far beyond the restricted ghetto.

Even these urgent considerations do not do justice to the immense complications involving the education of Negro children for tomorrow's interracial world. A social psychological analysis must probe deeper, beginning with a consideration of what racially-unbalanced schools and the American society at large communicate to the Negro child.

COMMUNICATION

Broadly speaking, public education serves society by preparing the individual (1) to maintain himself adequately through participation in a useful occupation, (2) to augment his productive potential, and (3) to cope with and understand himself. Segregation of the Negro, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, acts to the detriment of all three of these aims, for all three necessarily imply a perspective for assessment of the adequacy of performance. And the criteria for evaluating adequacy are those favored by the dominant segment of American society — the white middle class. Apart from class complications, then, unbalanced schools defeat the broader goal of public education by failing to communicate to the Negro child the true standards by which he will surely be judged later.

Anyone who has observed so-called "Negro education" closely can testify to this fundamental breakdown of communication. Leaving aside the basic inferiority of schools typically provided for Negroes in unbalanced situations, this factor often operates to apply a lid on performance and aspirations. Soon a dual standard evolves: one for predominantly white schools, a lower one for predominantly Negro schools. Witness the recurrent experience of exceptionally talented Negro youth who transfer from a "Negro" to a "white" school. All "A" records in Negro schools suddenly are exposed for what they are; the Negro child now struggles to make "B's" and "C's." Clark and others have shown that generally these bright youth recover from the shock of their dual standards, adjust to the new criteria and eventually perform well.[15] This occurs, of course, in part because of the superior instruction received in the balanced school. But it is also a function of exposure to the higher standards and expectations of the general society.

The critical importance of universalistic standards is seen most clearly in athletics. A 9.5-second time in the hundred yard dash is universally recognized as outstanding, whether run by a Negro or a white. Certainly, this is one of the reasons why predominantly Negro schools do so much better in athletic than in academic competition with other schools.[16] No dual standard exists in athletics.

Two further points flow from these considerations, evidence for each of which will be presented in later sections. First, when a situation implies that the criteria for evaluation *belong* to the dominant group it creates extreme competitive anxiety; it assumes a superiority in the dominant group and an inferiority in other competing groups. Segregated schooling, reinforced by segregated housing, is such a situation, particularly when it is also evident that "the other group's" schooling and housing are objectively superior. Token integration, incidentally, can also result in the same devastating pattern.

Second, when a situation offers rewards relevant only to the dominant group, it also perpetuates the conviction that the race is not to be won, hence not to be run. In a number of ways such groups as the Black Muslims act out this alternative of group withdrawal; convinced that the race is "fixed," they attempt to set up their own competition with its own prizes. The importance of successful Negro models — successful in the full sense of society-wide criteria — cannot be overemphasized as a requirement for effective socialization of Negro children. Consider the significance of the communication achieved by Mrs. Ayer, a Negro school principal, to a young Harlem boy attending P. S. 24 named James Baldwin. "She liked me. And in a way I guess she proved to me that I didn't have to be entirely defined by my circumstances," commented Baldwin recently. "She was a living proof that I was not necessarily what the country said I was."[17]

If there is no Mrs. Ayer in the Negro child's immediate environment, if he becomes convinced that he is defeated before he begins, there are at least two interrelated types of withdrawal available to him. The Negro child can withdraw into the "Negro" role, a role of socially-defined inferior, but at least a role that receives some meager rewards. He knows his "place," meets the expectations of the passive Negro stereotype, and survives. But the psychological costs of this retreat are vast, as outlined later in the personality section. Dynamically similar is withdrawal through the unabashed seeking of immediate pleasures and gratification. This is a kind of willful participation in the unapproved because approval is seen as unattainable. This, too, meets the alternative stereotype of the id-driven Negro.

Even the most talented of Negro youth fall into these patterns. Erikson offers one explanation.[18] He suggests that in invoking negative judgments from the society, the young Negro's fulfillment of self often involves a continual process of failure. While reinforcing the society's conception of him, it at least provides a stable reference point, even if a negative and self-defeating one. And in a context where the answer to "Who am I?" is difficult and painful at best, even a negative identity has its rewards.

The basic communication problem is, perhaps, best illustrated by drawing an analogy from schizophrenic theory.[19] *The double-bind hypothesis* maintains that schizophrenia is partly developed through participation in a family setting in which the messages communicated to the child are sharply contradictory, thereby inhibiting adequate responses. According to Jackson, the general characteristics of the double-bind situation are: (1) the victim is involved in an intense inter-personal relationship where it is vitally important for him to discriminate accurately what type of message is being communicated so that he might respond appropriately; (2) the victim is caught in the cross-fire of two orders of message, one of which flatly denies the other; and (3) the victim cannot "leave the field" nor comment on the messages in such a way as to clarify the conflict.[20]

Evidence for the double-bind hypothesis comes both from observation of schizophrenogenic family interactions and from analysis of letters sent to schizophrenic patients by their mothers. Briefly, "a typical letter starts off fine, with some sort of contact established; the mother then shifts to an emphasis on how *she* has troubles; she states or implies that her troubles are somehow the patient's fault . . . But then she blocks off effective contact and response by saying 'don't worry.' "[21] Not all such schizophrenogenic mothers, however, produce schizophrenic children. This is at least partly true because many children are able to leave the field, to find outside the home persons and institutions — such as teachers and schools — which provide positive and consistent messages.

To carry through the double-bind analogy, Negro children receive directly conflicting messages from American society at large. On the one hand, they are "told" that everyone in America with talent and ambition who works hard can be successful; indeed, the mass media make it clear that people who are not successful must not "have what it takes" by definition. Yet, more subtly, Negroes also receive communications which convey the society's resistance to their attaining success. The resulting approach-avoidance conflict has two horns. If they strive in the fashion prescribed by the first, "work hard" message, they may bluntly be "told" that they are too pushy and do not know their place. And if they obey the second, "know your place" message, they may be "told" that this shiftlessness is final proof of their innate racial inferiority. In short, they are the victims of a racial double-bind.

Predominantly Negro schools, as part of their implicit curriculum, typically teach the "know your place" message. This contribution to the racial double-bind is made by the very fact that racial separation is necessary to form unbalanced schools in the first place. This stark fact covertly instructs the child that he is different, that he is devalued by American society, that he is deemed worthy only of education in schools where other lowly children like himself predominate. There is no guarantee, of course, that balanced schools will not also implicitly teach Negroes the same destructive lesson. The point is, however, that the unbalanced school situation is structurally self-defeating; even the most dedicated teachers will encounter severe difficulties in attempting to overcome its effects. The balanced school at least has the opportunity to counteract in part the double-binding communications of the larger community, to offer the Negro child an opportunity to leave the field at critical times through his psychological development.

CREATIVITY

Too often educational debates revolve around I.Q. and achievement scores, without full consideration of the higher cognitive processes. Controversy over the education of Negro children is no exception. Consequently, it seems worthwhile to briefly consider creativity, survey the principal research findings concerning this elusive property, and compare these findings with the typical situations most Negro children find themselves in today.

Creativity is apparently maximized when:

(1) The individual is "open to experience." Combining the works of several authorities, this would include:

(a) openness to inner experience, to emotions, to unconscious processes (i.e., fantasy);[22] (b) openness to the external environment and objectification (i.e., seeing an object or thing as it is rather than as one's defensive structure needs it to be).[23] Creativity, then is definitely not synonymous with intelligence.[24]

(2) The individual (a) accepts the non-rational components of himself,[25] (b) has a basic trust in himself,[26] (c) believes that he will not be overtaken by his impulses,[27] and (d) enjoys a history of experience in which curiosity and spontaneity are rewarded rather than punished.[28]

(3) The individual has a stable sense of identity, a notion of "himself" as a distinct, goal-directed human being.[29] This distinctness often involves a sense of being individually "different" and an acceptance of this difference.[30]

(4) The individual has some degree of insight into psychic stress, for art and science cannot be pursued for their own sake if other emotional needs predominate.[31]

(5) The individual has the ability and is encouraged to tolerate ambiguity and deal with complexity.[32] This apparently involves not only the ability to see an object in all its dimensions, but also an urge to order and synthesize it — although not to simplify it — in order to understand it.

To translate these individual traits into social conditions, then, the creativity-stimulating social situation is one where curiosity, spontaneity, originality, and preference for complexities are encouraged, where acceptance of self as a distinct, worthwhile individual is firmly developed, and where submissiveness to authority is discouraged.[33] The structuring of such an optimal situation is obviously not an easy task. To be sure, relatively few of America's classrooms for either white or Negro pupils probably attain these characteristics. Yet there are a number of reasons for believing that the racially-unbalanced school situation presents unusually serious barriers to the establishment of these creativity-stimulating conditions.

One of the recurrent findings of both the psychiatric and social psychological literature on Negro American personality is the great reliance upon denial and repression of racial concerns among many Negroes.[34] Much of this tendency may stem from the need to repress aggression against whites for fear of massive retaliation. In any event, this often documented "mark of oppression" certainly acts to constrict and stifle the "openness to experience" requisite for creativity. Repression and denial are the polar opposites of such creative traits as curiosity, spontaneity, self-insight, and acceptance of one's non-rational components. The "creative classroom" for Negro students, then, must handle this problem effectively. Clearly, an imbalanced school cannot even begin; for how can Negro children successfully work through their racial animosities without the presence of substantial numbers of whites? Much the same question in reverse can be posed for white children in all-white schools. Once again, however, the balanced school is no guarantee that this problem will be overcome; indeed, clumsy handling or the refusal to deal directly with the race issue in an integrated classroom can easily result in increased difficulty. But at least the balanced school presents the opportunity for achieving a solution to this major barrier to creativity.

Further issues are raised by the creativity criteria of a stable identity and a sense and acceptance of being "different." Earlier, we noted Erikson's suggestion that Negro children sometimes invoke negative judgments from society just to secure a stable, if negative, identity. Such a mechanism will probably not lead to the type of positive acceptance of self as "different" routinely found among creative people. In the next section, we shall discuss the advantages and disadvantages of racially-balanced education in this process. At this point, it suffices to say once more that only the racially-balanced school would appear to provide the climate necessary for the Negro child both to differentiate himself as racially distinct from the majority of other Americans and to accept this as a *positive* fact of life. One of the nine Negro adolescents who desegregated Little Rock's Central High School in 1957 put the matter bluntly. When asked what new insights she had acquired from her experience in a desegregated school, she replied: "Now I know there're some stupid white kids, too!"

Finally, imbalanced schools, by their very structure, are not equipped to meet the remaining creativity criteria. Racial separation itself is a symbol of withdrawal, of avoidance of racial complexities, and of submission to white authorities — whether educational, political, or real estate. It is difficult to imagine, then, how such institutions could encourage the very processes which they symbolically deny.

To summarize, the issue of racially-balanced schools should not be dealt with wholly in terms of mere I.Q. and achievement test scores. Higher order processes are also crucial; and a brief review of the research findings on creativity strongly suggest that racially-imbalanced classrooms are not likely to provide the conditions which foster such processes.

PERSONALITY DYNAMICS[35]

"To separate /Negro children/ from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." So wrote Chief Justice Earl Warren in his 1954 public school desegregation opinion.

He made this historic statement, of course, in reference to legally segregated schools. Yet, psychologically-speaking, the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation is largely lost on young Negro children who attend all-Negro schools in the South and urban North. This is not to say that there are not contrasting personality consequences of growing up in the two systems; numerous studies of adolescents and adults have shown greater personality damage among Negro Southerners than Negro Northerners.[36] But it is to say that an all-Negro school has much the same meaning to a pre-adolescent, regardless of the reason for his separation from white children.

The principal issue here concerns the adoption of the "Negro" role of socially-defined inferior. (See Appendix C.) Like all human interaction, discriminatory encounters between white and Negroes require that both parties "play the game." Whites often act out the role of the "superior"; by direct action or subtle cue, they convey the expectation that they will be treated with deference. For their part, Negroes, if racist norms are to be obeyed, act out the role of the "inferior"; they play the social role of "Negro."

This socially-stigmatized role of "Negro" is the critical feature of having dark skin in the United States. "It is part of the price the Negro pays for his position in this society," comments James Baldwin, "that . . . he is almost always acting."[37] At the personality level, such enforced role adoption further divided the individual Negro both from other human beings and from himself. Of course, all social roles, necessary as they are, hinder to some extent forthright, uninhibited social interaction. An employer and employee, for example, may never begin to understand each other as rounded human beings unless they break through the formality and constraints of their role relationship, unless they "let their hair down." Likewise, whites and Negroes can never communicate as equals unless they break through the racial role barriers. As long as racial roles are maintained, both parties find it difficult to perceive the humanity behind the facade. Many whites who are by no means racists confuse the role of "Negro" with the people who must play this role. "Negroes are just like that," goes the phrase; "they are simply born happy-go-lucky and lazy." Conversely, many Negroes confuse the role of "white man" with whites: "Whites are just like that; they are born thinking they should always be boss."

Intimately associated with this impairment of human relatedness is an impairment of the individual's acceptance and understanding of himself. Both whites and Negroes can easily mistake their own roles as being an essential part of themselves. Whites can flatter themselves into the conviction that they are in fact "superior"; after all, does not the deferential behavior of the role-playing Negro confirm this "superiority"? And Negroes in turn often accept much of the racists' mythology; for does not the imperious behavior of the role-playing white confirm this "inferiority"? Racial roles, then, are important for understanding how racial patterns shape personality. Individuals grow into roles, and are shaped and molded by the behavior these roles require.

These are not mere speculations of existentialist philosophy. A large body of psychological research convincingly demonstrates the power of role-playing to change deeply-held attitudes, values, and even conceptions of self.[38] Moreover, these remarkable changes have been rendered by temporary role adoptions of an exceedingly trivial nature when compared to the life-long role of "Negro." Imagine, then, the depth of the effects of having to play a role which has such vast personal and social significance that it influences virtually all aspects of daily living.

One instance of the operation of the "Negro" role in the school setting occurs in the intelligence testing situation. (See Appendix B.) Put simply, the Negro is not expected to be bright. To reveal high intelligence is to risk appearing "uppity," to step out of the "Negro" role. But the self-fulfilling prophecy may occur, for the Negro child who assumes a facade of stupidity as a defense mechanism is very likely to grow into the role. He will not be eager to learn, and he will not strive to do well in the testing situation. After all, an intelligence test is a middle-class white man's instrument; it is a device whites use to prove their capacities and get ahead in the white world. Achieving a high test score does not have the same meaning for a lower-status Negro child, and it may even carry a definite connotation of personal threat.

In addition to stupidity, the role of "Negro" prescribes both passivity and lack of ambition as central traits. And these traits are crucial personality correlates of I.Q. changes in white children. The Fels Research Institute found that aggressiveness and intense need for achievement differentiate those children whose scores rise between six and ten years of age from those whose scores recede.[39]

Another protective device and component of the "Negro" role is slowness. This trait assumes major importance in the speed instruments typically employed to estimate intelligence. In the Negro lower class there is no premium on speed, for work is generally paid by the hour and there are realistically few goals that fast, hard endeavor can attain. One experiment noted that differences in speed of response between two samples were primarily responsible for racial differences in I.Q. estimated by timed performance tests.[40]

Playing "Negro" is made especially critical when the examiner is white. Even two-year-old Negroes seem verbally inhibited when tested by a white.[41] In fact, this verbal inhibition may be the principal factor underlying the common observation that Negro children generally evidence verbal comprehension far superior to their verbal communication.[42] One investigation had students of both races tested alternately by Negro and white examiners.[43] For both groups, the mean I.Q. was approximately six points higher when the test was administered by an examiner of their own race.

Adult Negroes evidence a similar reaction. A public opinion poll in North Carolina asked Negro respondents for the names of the men who had just run for governor in a primary election.[44] Three out of five Negroes questioned by Negro interviewers knew at least two correct names and gave no incorrect names, compared with only two out of five of a similar sample questioned by whites. A Boston survey replicated these results with two measures tapping intelligence.[45] The first consisted of six informational items; each respondent was asked to identify six famous men: two Africans (Kwame Nkrumah and Haile Selassie) and four Negro Americans (Louis Armstrong, Martin Luther King, Adam Clayton Powell, and Elijah Muhammed). The other test required synonyms for ten words, ranging in difficulty from "space" to "emanate". Negro interviewers questioned half of the respondents, white interviewers the other half; and the two half-samples were equivalent in income, age, education, and region of birth. On both tests the Boston Negro adults rendered more correct answers when interviewed by a Negro.

Personality considerations of identity and self-esteem for the Negro child, then, revolve largely around the opportunity and encouragement he receives to reject flatly the "Negro" role of passivity, stupidity, and slowness. He must be rewarded and practiced in the counter-role of "equal citizen," a new role conception in which, incidentally, many white children also need training. Predominantly Negro schools are ill-equipped to rise effectively to this challenge. And balanced schools may also fail to meet this challenge; but they do possess the prerequisite structure for imparting this lesson.

The complexity of these psychological processes is underscored in an important series of experiments conducted by Irwin Katz at New York University. Katz believes available experimental evidence points to a variety of both unfavorable and favorable influences on Negro performance in the biracial situation. On the negative side of the ledger, he lists *lowered probability of success*, *social threat*, and *failure threat*. Where there is marked discrepancy in the educational standards of Negro and white schools, or where Negro children have already acquired strong feelings of inferiority, minority group arrivals to integrated classes are likely to have a low expectancy of academic success. This expectancy is often realistic, given the situation, but it has the effect of lowering achievement motivation. Social threat is involved in any integrated situation for Negroes; given the prestige and dominance of whites in American society, rejection of Negro students by white classmates or teachers often elicits emotional responses that are detrimental to intellectual functioning. Failure threat arises when academic failure means disapproval by significant others — parents, teachers, perhaps even peers at school. Low expectancy of success under failure threat may also result in eliciting emotional responses detrimental to performance.

On the positive side of the ledger, Katz notes that *acceptance* of Negroes by white classmates and adults has a *social facilitation* effect upon their ability to learn, apparently because it reassures the Negro child that he is fully expected to be as talented and important in the classroom as anyone else. This anticipation, that skillful performance will win white approval, rather than the usual rejection for not "knowing his place," endows scholastic success with *high incentive value.*

The desegregated learning situation, then, has the potentiality of lowering or raising Negro performance, depending importantly on the social context of threat or acceptance that is achieved. Indeed, the picture is even more complex than this, as demonstrated by the result of Katz's ingenious studies:

> "Experiments on Negro male college students . . . have shown that in work teams composed of Negro and white students of similar intellectual ability, Negroes are passively compliant, rate their own performance as inferior even when it is not, and express less satisfaction with the team experience

> than do their white companions. These results are seen as due to social threat and/or failure threat.
>
> . . Forcing Negro subjects into attempts to influence nonhostile white partners in problem solving has the effect of increasing their influence over the same white partner on another task, apparently mainly through reduction of their fear of instigating hostility. Experimentally creating a verbal task situation that was low in both social threat and failure threat resulted in better performance by Negroes in the presence of whites than in the presence of other Negroes, suggesting that the incentive value of success was greater in the white environment. But when threat of strong electric shock was introduced, the white setting became less favorable to performance than the Negro one. Thus *vulnerability* to stress was greater in the white condition, even though it was not apparent until a strong explicit threat was introduced. The evaluative significance of a verbal task (i.e., whether it was described as a perceptual motor test or an intellectual test) interacted with the race of the tester in determining Negro performance, in a manner consistent with the notions that (a) the incentive value of success was higher with a white tester than with a Negro tester, and (b) the probability of success was lower with a white tester than with a Negro tester only when the task was defined intellectually. Anticipated intellectual comparison with Negro peers was found to produce a higher level of verbal performance than anticipated comparison with white peers, in accordance with the assumption that the subjective probability of success was lower when the expected comparison was with whites. Also, performance was facilitated when a white tester raised the subject's expectancy of attaining a white standard of performance by giving him suitable 'information' about his score on a previous trial. Finally, suppression of hostile impulses appeared to occur in Negro students who were tested by a white adult, but not in those who were tested by a Negro adult."[47]

Katz's experimental findings provide a useful framework with which to evaluate what little field data exist on balanced schools. Gerald Lesser and his associates recently completed a major study of Chinese, Jewish, Negro, and Puerto Rican children in New York City's public schools.[48] One of their interesting findings complicates the interpretation of their data for purposes of this paper: the children from each of the tested groups who were in ethnically-balanced schools were typically of higher social class backgrounds than those children from the same groups in imbalanced schools. Thus, the effects of social class and ethnic balance are confounded in their results — a fact of importance not only for New York's schools, but also for the design of future research on racially-balanced schools.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Lesser found that children in balanced schools outperformed children in imbalanced schools in all four ethnic groups on all four tests of basic abilities — reasoning, verbal ability, numerical ability, and space conceptualization. Moreover, the difference was largest for all four abilities between Negroes in balanced and unbalanced schools. In other words, the combined factors of social class and group composition of the school were more direct correlates of the Negro test scores than for the scores of the Chinese, Jewish, and Puerto Rican pupils. Not all of these sharp differences can be accounted for in social class terms alone; the discrepancies are due, at least in part, to the schools' group compositions. Indeed, the two variables are by no means analytically separable, for both are functions to some extent of many of the same factors (e.g., type and location of housing).

Nancy St. John employed another approach in her study of public education in a middle-sized New England city.[49] At the time of her study in 1961, Negroes comprised approximately one-sixth of the student body in each of this city's two comprehensive high schools, but three-fourths or more of two elementary schools and one junior high. St. John's sample of 235 youngsters included all of the Negroes in the junior year in the two high schools plus all Negroes who would have been juniors but who had dropped out since entering high school. She sought to isolate differences in aspirations, test performance, academic and extra-curricular behavior, and sociometric choices between three sets of these children: those who had previously attended elementary schools consisting of from 1% to 39% Negroes ("low ratio"); those from 40% to 69% Negro elementary schools ("medium ratio"); and those from 70% to 100% Negro elementary schools ("high ratio").

Again tight social class controls were not possible, though the confounding was not as sharp as in Lesser's data.

Four statistically significant distinctions emerged. (1) Verbal test scores were highest for children from the low ratio schools, and lowest for children from the high ratio schools. (2) Students trained in medium ratio institutions most often participated in high school extra-curricular activities, students' trained in high ratio institutions least often participated. (3) And those Negroes from low and medium ratio elementary schools were almost twice as likely to be sociometrically chosen by white classmates as Negroes from high ratio schools. (4) But faithful school attendance proved best among children from the high ratio elementary schools, worst among those from low ratio elementary schools.

Other statistically non-significant trends in St. John's data are also of interest. Otis I.Q's and reading levels were highest among the children from low ratio schools, lowest among those from high ratio schools. Yet average high school grades were just the reverse, with high ratio children doing best.[50] Drop-outs were concentrated among the high ratio-trained Negroes. Low ratio-trained Negroes chose whites sociometrically more often than other Negroes. And, finally, high educational aspirations (post-high school training) and high occupational aspirations (professional and managerial) were most lacking among those children from the high ratio elementary schools. Interestingly, racially-balanced elementary schools proved most vital in shaping the high educational aspirations among the most deprived of all Negro students — children from the lowest social class, from broken homes, and from migrant families out of the South.

St. John's data are the most straightforward on racially-balanced education currently available, though there are serious limitations. In addition to problems of control, her sample is small and comes from a city with a relatively small ghetto and low degree of *de facto* school segregation. Nonetheless, her findings tend to support many of the contentions of this paper while further underlining Katz's conclusions concerning the complexity of the process.

Critics of balanced schools, however, raise further issues. Consider the paper by Clairette P. Armstrong and A. J. Gregor.[51] Their argument runs essentially as follows: Negro personality, especially as dramatized by Negro psychotics, is often marked by color denial and orientation toward "the white culture." Moreover, Negroes in a radically-insulated environment tend to be less characterized by these symptoms. The Clarks' doll preference data and Goodman's interracial kindergarten data are cited as supportive evidence.[52] Consequently, argue the writers, an all-Negro institution "seems to produce far less intrapsychic tension than the concrete fact that he must, in integrated situations, adjust to membership in a group where he is accorded inferior status because of distinctive social visibility."[53]

Armstrong and Gregor believe that biracial schools encourage further orientation toward "the white culture" and hence induce "psychological hazards" because integrated schools: (1) emphasize white esthetic norms and negative stereotypes of the Negro; (2) do not provide needed Negro authority figures; (3) highlight the Negro's performance deficiencies and (4) lead to Negroes suffering from rejection by white children. Thus, they conclude: "Biracial school experience during a critical developmental period may well play a significant part in the shaping of certain defensive patterns in Negro personality development."[54] In short, the argument in simplest terms insists that Negroes are more comfortable in their "insulated" all-Negro schools, and that they are neither happy nor healthy in biracial schools.

This argument, of course, is hardly new. Slavery was defended over a century ago in similar terms; Negroes were happiest in bondage, went the claim, and simply would not be able to cope with freedom. But the Armstrong-Gregor paper is still worthy of careful attention, because it is representative of a suddenly-acquired concern for the Negro which many critics of racial integration are presently expressing.

Color denial and other color symptomatology *are* prevalent among Negro Americans; given their history of slavery and segregation in America, it would be amazing if this were not true. Yet Armstrong and Gregor recommended as the remedy for these problems still further segregation. It is also a fact, as noted earlier, that Negro Americans are strongly identified with and immersed in the Caucasian-dominated *American* culture (there is no such thing as a separate "white culture" in the United States). The next chain in the logic, however, is more questionable. It is by no means clear that profound psychological problems in childhood are lessened for Negroes by an all-Negro environment. The authors selectively cite Goodman's data from an interracial nursery in the North. But in all fairness, they should have also cited Morland's data from tightly segregated nurseries in the south — which showed precisely the same personality damage among Negro children.[55] Especially relevant for this New York State Conference are recent data compiled by Judith Porter on pre-school children in Ithaca.[56] In this city Negroes only comprise approximately three per cent of the total population, yet she replicated the principal findings of previous studies in both the racial identifications and preferences of Negro and white children. More importantly, Porter tested children from all-Negro, all-white, and integrated nurseries, and found no statistically significant differences between the responses of Negroes in the segregated and integrated situations.

Much of the controversy concerning doll studies centers around the Clarks' work, because this investigation was prominently mentioned in the famous footnote 11 of the 1954 school desegregation opinion. Armstrong and Gregor correctly note that the Clarks obtained a significant difference between Negro children from integrated schools in the North and segregated schools in the South in response to the command, "Give me the doll which looks bad." The northern children significantly more often chose the Negro doll rather than the white doll. Responses to seven other questions by the Clarks did not reveal significant regional differences, however, though Armstrong and Gregor do not mention this fact.[57] Nevertheless, other work by the Clarks also points to the more open disparagement of Negroes by Northern Negro children.[58] Armstrong and Gregor regard this as evidence against biracial schools. Clark presents another interpretation:

> "On the surface these findings might suggest that Northern Negro children suffer more personality damage from racial prejudice and discrimination than Southern Negro children. However, this interpretation would seem to be not only superficial but incorrect. The apparent emotional stability of the Southern Negro child may be indicative only of the fact that through rigid racial segregation and isolation he has accepted as normal the fact of his inferior social status. Such an acceptance is not symptomatic of a healthy personality. The emotional turmoil revealed by some of the Northern children may be interpreted as an attempt on their part to assert some positive aspect of the self."[59]

The four arguments proposed by Armstrong and Gregor in support of their contention that biracial schools are psychologically too dangerous for Negro children are indeed curious. They assume that *all* biracial schools in the United States must necessarily, by their very structure, value "whiteness" and degrade the Negro, be devoid of a substantial number of Negro teachers and other authority figures, witness poor Negro performance, and involve rejection of Negroes by white children. That all of these negative characteristics do in fact characterize *some* integrated schools in America is not to be disputed. That all of these negative characteristics necessarily must and do in fact characterize *all* integrated schools in America is absurd on face. Their listing is valuable, however, for it points to the psychologically important features balanced schools must strive hard to avoid. Interestingly, this listing is quite similar to those mentioned earlier by Irwin Katz, though Armstrong and Gregor fail to add the positive features of balanced schools revealed by Katz's work.

The idea that cultural "insulation," deep within the ghetto, is where the Negro is happiest and healthiest also requires brief examination. Many groups — Indian-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Japanese-Americans — have until recently remained as groups relatively insulated from the mainstream of American life. During this period of insulation, these same groups maintained low rates of social disorganization — such as crime. But today they are in varying degrees entering the mainstream, and during this transitional period such indices as crime rates are typically elevated.[60] These groups, then, partly fit the Armstrong-Gregor thinking; but note the sharp contrast between them and Negro Americans. Indians, Chinese, and Japanese all had proud cultures of their own, which were for a long time reasonably well-maintained in modern America. Negroes in America were never so fortunate. Though possessing proud cultures of their own, African slaves brought to North America were systematically stripped of their cultural heritage — the Gullahs of South Carolina furnishing an illuminating exception. Negroes have therefore never been in the position of the culturally insulated Indians, Chinese, or Japanese in America, and arguments about the beneficial features of such insulation for them are neither realistic nor relevant. As Armstrong and Gregor themselves point out, Negroes are hopelessly identified with American culture, a fact which translates separation into oppression rather than comfort.

The issue of "intrapsychic tension" raised by the two authors is a particularly important one. As Katz points out, Negroes in biracial situations probably *are* frequently more comfortable than in uniracial situations. Armstrong and Gregor could have cited a study by R. W. Pugh which in part supports their thesis concerning "intrapsychic tension."[61] Pugh found that students in an all-Negro school were better adjusted to school life than Negro students in an interracial school, though the two groups did not differ in "race pride." But the segregated youngsters were less satisfied with their school administrators and teachers. Recent work in Michigan schools confirms this tension in some integrated classrooms.[62] Another study of a desegregated summer camp also noted tension and keen sensitivity among Negro children, much of which centered around fears of rejection by the white campers.[63] Two weeks of successful integration, however, achieved a sharp decline in this initial Negro sensitivity.

A social cost analysis is needed. The question becomes: *What price comfort*? Naturally, Negro children will often be reluctant to enter into a biracial situation, will often be tense and anxious over rejection by whites. The situation is directly analogous to the avoidance learning situation in the psychological laboratory. When a subject's forefinger is repeatedly shocked immediately after a bell sounds, for instance, he soon learns to avoid the painful shock by lifting his finger as soon as he hears the bell. In other words, the subject is conditioned in the classic Pavlovian paradigm. But consider what happens when the electric shock is no longer applied. How can the subject acquire knowledge of the change? As long as he withdraws his finger at the bell, he can never discover that the bell is no longer associated learning. Negroes have learned to withdraw from interracial situations where in the past they have frequently experienced pain and indignity. And even though these situations change and the pain and indignity are removed, most Negroes are naturally reluctant to test them and discover the alterations. Avoidance learning, then, is self-perpetuating. But once again the advantages of introducing Negro children to racially-balanced classrooms from the first day of kindergarten are underlined.

What price comfort? Armstrong and Gregor may be right, then, in so much as many Negro children are less comfortable in biracial classrooms, at least initially. But will those children from all-Negro schools be more comfortable when they reach young adulthood and find themselves totally unequipped to compete in an interracial world? Lobotomized patients are often more comfortable, too, but they are impaired for life.

The point is dramatically demonstrated by data from Louisville, Kentucky supplied by the United States Civil Rights Commission. Louisville has six high schools, all of which have at least a few Negroes, and an open choice system of enrollment. One of the high schools, Central, was the school designated for Negroes before Louisville's educational desegregation and remains virtually all Negro. The Commission checked on whether the racial ratios of the junior high schools were related to the selection by Negroes of *de facto* segregated Central High. The results are as follows:[64]

Name of Louisville Junior High	*Negro Percentage in the Jr. High*	*Percentage of Negroes Choosing Virtually All-Negro Central High (as of May 29, 1962)*
Gottschalk	0.7	0.0
Highland	1.2	0.0
Barrett	4.1	35.4
Western	8.5	21.8
Eastern	15.2	29.4
Du Pont Manual	16.5	16.5
Shawnee	23.7	4.7

Name of Louisville Junior High	*Negro Percentage in the Jr. High*	*Percentage of Negroes Choosing Virtually All-Negro Central High (as of May 29, 1962)*
Parkland	25.3	33.1
Manly	31.2	42.3
DuValle	99.0	70.9
Jackson	100.0	65.9
Russell	100.0	87.3

The relationship is obviously very close; the Spearman Rank Order Correlation, corrected for ties, is + .82, statistically significant at better than the one per cent level of confidence. The fears of Armstrong and Gregor concerning biracial education are not substantiated, for it seems unlikely that Negro students who have endured debilitating "intrapsychic tension" in an integrated junior high school would willingly submit themselves to such hardship in an integrated high school. The Commission sums it up tersely; "The inference is strong that Negro high school students prefer biracial education only if they have experienced it before. If a Negro student has not received his formative education in biracial schools, the chances are he will not choose to enter one in his more mature school years."[65]

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

All of these social psychological considerations point to the necessity for racially-balanced education from the very beginning of the formal educational process. It is precisely this requirement, however, which complicates the implementation of school system plans for achieving racial balance. As the New England and Louisville data reveal, the racial ratio is of critical importance at the elementary and junior high grade levels. Yet it is these levels which are the most difficult to balance, not only because of geographical factors, but also because it is at these levels the neighborhood school concept receives its strongest support. But once again a social cost analysis is required. Which is the more important — proximity or balance? Until recently, the neighborhood school was revered by many as a hallowed institution beyond question of inestimable value. But is it really? Intensive and imaginative research is obviously called for plus a complete reevaluation of the problem by educators. Perhaps, the consolidated school deserves serious consideration for even the elementary grades.

In the midst of such complications, one anguished plea many educators understandably voice is: *Why the schools*? Virtually all other realms of American life are as separate, or even more separate, racially than the schools — housing, work situations, and especially the churches. Indeed, housing segregation is a major contributor to the problem of balancing schools. Why, then, are the schools singled out for such special and controversial attention? Some of the reasons for this have been outlined previously: Negro Americans as a group greatly respect the institution of public education; and their hopes for the future particularly center upon their children and the education their children receive. (See Appendix A). After all, education is the only societal institution totally dedicated to preparing for the future. Moreover, the central significance of education makes it a critical prerequisite for other needed racial changes — upgraded jobs, higher incomes, better and more dispersed housing, etc. This positive circle of progress has to be initiated by the Negro somewhere; too long each realm has pointed to another realm as the guilty party which should change first.[66] It is, then, in full recognition of the special importance of public education that this realm has become an early target in the current Negro revolution.

The concentration on racial balance should not, however, blind us to the involved problems of educational excellence and remedial training. Racial balance appears to be a necessary, but hardly sufficient, condition for superior education. Many Negroes, as well as many whites, need massive remedial instruction; but remedial instruction in de facto segregated schools clearly does not go to the roots of the problems which helped to create the need for remedial work in the first place. Balance is an essential ingredient, then, but only a first step.

Another issue involves the precise definition of a "racially-balanced" school. Is it a school with 30% Negroes, 50% Negroes, or 70% Negroes? This practical question of definition is actually less thorny than it first appears. Hopefully, arbitrary percentages will someday be unnecessary considerations; for the real objective for the future obviously involves schools where the exact racial ratio will be irrelevant and a matter of indifference to all. But until this goal is reached, a contrived strategy is required. And at least from a social psychological viewpoint, a percentage of Negro students ranging from approximately 20% to 45% would appear an optimal transitional definition for "balance." This is the range that has proven effective in interracial housing developments, both public and private. The reasons for this are numerous. At one end, a figure less than the minimum 20% — as in the typical token pattern of desegregation — isolates the Negro students, tends to make them appear conspicuous, and offers bigots the hope of eventually excluding them altogether. At the other end, a Negro majority enhances the recurrent white fear of being "swamped," placing whites in a minority position to which they are not accustomed. Gallup Poll data collected during June of 1963 bear out this contention on the part of white adults:[67]

"Would you, yourself, have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are colored?"

	North	*South*
Yes, would object	10%	61%
No, would not object	87%	38%
No opinion	3%	1%

"Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school where half of the children are colored?"

	North	*South*
Yes, would object	33%	78%
No, would not object	56%	17%
No opinion	11%	5%

"Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school where more than half of the children are colored?"

	North	*South*
Yes, would object	53%	86%
No, would not object	31%	6%
No opinion	16%	8%

There are additional advantages to having white majorities during the initial phase of balancing schools. It acts to assure the Negro students that they are attending a truly interracial school, rather than a school with a relatively small percentage of whites that has passed "the tipping point" and may soon become virtually all Negro. The white majority also insures political leverage and the sympathetic attention of white school officials and community leaders. And, finally, this racial ratio of 20% to 45% approximates the percentages both the Negro and white students will later encounter in many work situations.[68]

A PROPOSED DESIGN FOR BALANCED SCHOOL RESEARCH

The definitive research needed today on the racial balancing of schools requires not only competent investigators but substantial financial support and the full cooperation of a large urban school system. The outlines for such research can be readily sketched. The necessary design must allow for natural development changes in the children studied, the critical role of social class, and the "Hawthorne" effect so common to studies of educational innovations. The ideal design to handle these complications would involve extensive controls, longitudinal testing and double-bind experimentation. More specifically, Solomon's expanded before-and-after design with three types of controls affords the basic framework.[69] The three experimental groups, differing only in social class composition, would be as follows:

	Experimental Groups (or Schools)		
	1A	1B	1C
Social Class Composition	*Predominantly Working-Class*	*Both Working and Middle Class*	*Predominantly Middle-Class*
"Before Measurements (Intelligence, aspirations, etc.)	Yes (Y1)	Yes (Y1)	Yes (Y1)
Exposure to experimental variable (racial balance — 20 to 45% Negroes)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exposure to Uncontrolled and developmental events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes (Y2)	Yes (Y2)	Yes (Y2)
Change	c = Y2 — Y1	c = Y2 — Y1	c = Y2 — Y1

The first type of control groups would have to be as identical to the experimental groups as possible in make-up and treatment, except for the fact that racial imbalance would prevail. Again varying only by social class composition, the three groups for this type of control would be as follows:

	Control Groups (or Schools) #2		
	2A	2B	2C
Social Class Composition	*Predominantly Working-Class*	*Both Working and Middle-Class*	*Predominantly Middle-Class*
"Before" Measurements	Yes (Y'1)	Yes (Y'1)	Yes (Y'1)
Exposure to Experimental Variable (in this case imbalance could mean 90% Negroes)	No	No	No
Exposure to Uncontrolled and Developmental Events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes (Y'2)	Yes (Y'2)	Yes (Y'2)

This type of control would contrast the racially-balanced school with overwhelmingly Negro schools; but three further control groups following this same pattern could test the effects of tokenism by having imbalanced situations of 90% of more white students. The initial control detects the change brought about by a combination of the administration of the "before" measures and the uncontrolled and developmental events.

A second type of control detects the change due to the experimental variable (i.e., the racial composition of the school) and the uncontrolled and developmental events.

Control Groups (or Schools) #3

	3A	3B	3C
Social Class Composition	*Predominantly Working-Class*	*Both Working and Middle-Class*	*Predominantly Middle-Class*
"Before" Measurements	No $Y'1 = \frac{Y' - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''1 = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''1 = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$
Exposure to Experimental Variable (Racial Balance — 20 to 45% Negroes)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exposure to Uncontrolled and Developmental Events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes ($Y''2$)	Yes ($Y''2$)	Yes ($Y''2$)
Change	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$

Finally, a third set of control groups detects the change which can be contributed solely to the uncontrolled and developmental events which take place between the "before" and "after" measurements. These groups are as follows:

Control Groups (or Schools) #4

Social Class Composition	*Predominantly Working-Class*	*Both Working and Middle-Class*	*Predominantly Middle-Class*
"Before" Measurements	No $Y'\,'' = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''\,' = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''\,' = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$
Exposure to Experimental Variable (in this case imbalance could mean 90% — Negroes)	No	No	No
Exposure to Uncontrolled and Developmental Events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes ($Y''\,'2$)	Yes ($Y''\,'2$)	Yes ($Y''\,'2$)
Change	$c = Y''\,'2 - Y''\,'1$	$c = Y''\,'2 - Y''\,'1$	$c = Y''\,'2 - Y''\,'1$

This twelve group design would be both expensive and time-consuming to carry out. But such a design has a number of distinct advantages not achievable in less elaborate research. In the first place, the many control groups provide numerous replications. Thus, the last two types of control groups differ only in exposure to the key experimental variable; they provide, then, a replication of the basic finding developed by contrasting the first type of control groups with the experimental groups. Furthermore, replications are provided within each of the three types of social class schools. Of special interest here are the answers to such questions as: Are racially-balanced schools more needed by working-class children, middle-class children, or both? And does racial balance have special effects in schools which achieve some degree of social class balance as well?

Two other features of an ideal research design are longitudinal testing and double-blind experimentation. The first of these simply refers to the need to sample the "after" measures in the above diagrams at varying times in the developmental cycle. Though this increases the complexity of the design shown previously, it is necessary if developmental questions are to be answered. Does racial imbalance have its greatest effects during the elementary years? Or is it a cumulative effect? Only longitudinal testing can supply the answers.

Double-blind experimentation in this instance means that the teachers and researchers who directly come in contact with the children in the schools are not anymore aware than the children as to whether they are the experimental group, the group that is "supposed to do better." The problem here is the widely-known Hawthorne effect, where experimental groups which receive special attention improve not so much as a function of the experimental variable as of the special attention.[71] Most educational innovations, for instance, generally appear at first to be beneficial, because the research used to test them does not often take this factor into account. In critical research on racial balance, then, it is imperative that the Hawthorne effect not contaminate the data. Safeguards should include double-bind conditions coupled with equal attention and an equal aura of experimentation in each of the twelve schools.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"What's racial balance got to do with education?" Apart from the historical, political, legal, and moral answers, there are a variety of social psychological answers to the school committee member's blunt query. This paper has briefly discussed these considerations in terms of human learning, communication, creativity, and personality dynamics.

Students need to be taught in environments similar to those in which they will later be required to perform. This is a direct imperative of a basic principle of human learning: *alteration of salient environmental features associated with original learning results in diminished retention and performance.* Since Negroes must perform well in interracial work situations if they are to be occupationally upgraded in the future, it follows that they should be educated in schools which provide interracial learning situations.

A communications analogy with schizophrenic theory highlights the importance of the role schools can play in countering the racist messages still lingering in the larger society — countering not only explicitly in formal instruction, but implicitly in the biracial composition of students, teachers, and administrators. On the one hand, the Negro child hears the "work hard" message: Any American with talent and ambition who works hard can be successful, thus anyone who is not successful must not "have what it takes." On the other hand, the Negro child also hears the "know your place" message: any Negro who openly strives to get ahead of white people is too uppity and obviously doesn't know his place. Like the potentially-schizophrenic child whose mother tells him she loves him but acts as if she does not, the Negro child finds himself the victim of a *double-bind.* But many potentially-schizophrenic children in the double-bind never become schizophrenic, in part because they are able "to leave the field," to find consistent guidance and reassurance outside of the home in such places as the school. Likewise, Negro children need "to leave the field," need to find the type of consistent guidance and reassurance only a racially-balanced school can provide.

Too frequently the balanced school and other educational controversies focus myopically upon I.Q. and achievement test scores, without full consideration of such higher mental processes as creativity. A brief review of the principal research findings on creativity reveals a series of personal characteristics which must be encouraged and developed: openness to experience, recognition and acceptance of personal differences, desire for complexity, personal insight, and an independent unwillingness to submit totally to authority. Each of these traits would be difficult for a segregated school to foster, since by its very structure it is a societal symbol of the restriction of experience, the rejection of individuals because of racial differences, the desire for simplicity, the refusal to probe psychologically, and the total submission to authority.

From the perspective of personality dynamics, racially-balanced schools include aspects which are both detrimental and facilitating to Negro performance. These ideas are based on considerable experimental laboratory data, but field evidence directly from the classroom is scarce. One field study in New York City and another in a middle-sized New England city support these laboratory conclusions in general. These two investigations also suggest that the facilitating effects easily outweigh the detrimental influences of biracial situations in effective balanced schools.

Segregationist critics raise the additional issue of psychological comfort. Speaking confidently for Negroes as usual, these critics emphasize only the detrimental forces potentially operating in biracial situations and claim Negroes are happier, healthier, and more comfortable in all-Negro settings. To be sure, there is evidence of tension among many Negro children during the initial stages of integration. But the critical question arises as to *what price comfort*? To suggest that Negro personality problems are best handled by continuing the segregationist practices that are largely responsible for these problems is a curious idea. Lobotomized patients are often more comfortable, too, but they are impaired for life.

Finally, a temporary working definition of "racial balance" is put forward, and a research design for a definitive study of racial balance is proposed. A number of social psychological considerations lead to a definition of racial balance for the current transitional phase as a school with approximately 20% to 45% of its student body Negro. The proposed research would optimally include twelve schools of specified characteristics. It would be costly, time-consuming research, but simpler designs would not be definitive.

Similar to the practical suggestions made by others concerned with this issue,[72] the following action recommendations lead from these social psychological considerations:

(A) For a host of reasons, racially-balanced education should begin in kindergarten and the first grade.

(B) Biracial schools should have biracial staffs, which include not just Negro teachers but Negro administrators as well.

(C) Negro and white staff members in biracial schools need specialized in-service training in racial concerns. In particular, they need to learn how to deal with and *not avoid* this issue, how to maximize those aspects of the biracial situation which facilitate learning while minimizing those aspects which depress learning.

(D) Contact alone will not necessarily reduce interracial animosity. Indeed, human interaction tends to multiply the trend first established in an institution. It is therefore easier to desegregate a new facility right at the start than an old facility with established norms of racial separation. Since there is a constant turnover of students, this factor is usually most important for the more permanent teaching staff. Hence, it is sometimes advisable when desegregating an old facility to bring in a sizeable number of new staff members, particularly if there are recalcitrant teachers who need replacing. Moreover, Allport concludes from his review of the research evidence that the contact situation which is most effective in reducing intergroup prejudice is typically characterized by: equal status and treatment accorded both groups, cooperative seeking after common goals, and strong authority support for the contact.[73]

(E) Homogeneous ability groups (the "track" system) must be kept flexible, with frequent and periodic reevaluations. The psychological danger of such a system in biracial schools is that it provides a subtle, but devastating, outlet for prejudice to be acted out in the name of an educational technique. Moreover, ability grouping almost inevitably freezes teachers' expectations as well as the self-images of the children themselves; thus, it is especially dangerous in the early grades.

(F) The school must venture out into its community — community in a broader sense than the immediate neighborhood. Programs need to involve parents not only in the school but also in the wider community. Negro children, especially, need to be introduced into situations where Negroes until recently rarely ventured (e.g., expensive restaurants, as in Samuel Shepard's current "operation dine-out" in St. Louis).

(G) The optimal racial ratio to strive for, at least in the initial stages of desegregation, consists of approximately 20% to 45% Negroes.

(H) Intensive research is urgently needed on all aspects of the racial balancing of schools.

To sum up, racially-balanced education is no panacea. Balanced schools offer the Negro child his best hope for the future; but they raise special problems of their own and do not in themselves guarantee solutions to the many educational and psychological barriers impeding the Negro American today. Balanced schools are, however, an imperative first step. In simplest terms, the segregated school defeats the Negro child virtually before he begins his educational career. At least the racially-balanced school has the *potentiality* of offering the Negro child — and the white child — an academic and emotional preparation for tomorrow's interracial world.

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IMPACT OF RACIAL IMBALANCE AND BALANCE

An Assessment by Professional Educational Research Personnel

Prepared by:

BRADBURY SEASHOLES, Ph.D.
Director of Political Studies
Lincoln Filene Center
Tufts University

The consequences of racial imbalance in public schools are distinctly bad, and are avoided in schools which approach "racial balance." This is the overwhelming consensus of over 600 professionals trained and engaged in educational research.

These six hundred individuals, over one-fourth of the total membership of the American Educational Research Association, constitute one of the most knowledgeable groups in the United States on questions of the effects of the school years on children and adolescents. During April, 1964, they and the other members of the AERA were polled by mail to ascertain their opinions on the specific impact of racial homogeneity or heterogeneity on two aspects of the educational experience. These two are basic academic achievement, and broader absorption of a sense of social position. The hypotheses underlying the study were as follows:

1. Racial homogeneity in schools depresses academic achievement.
2. Racial homogeneity depresses Negroes' perceptions of their ultimate place in society.

The rationale underlying these hypetheses is that *de facto* segregation transmits a connotation that whites consider Negroes inferior and/or undesirable; that this connotation at a minimum is accepted by Negroes as an accurate picture of what whites think of them, and in many instances is accepted as an accurate picture of their *actual* worth; and that in either case motivation for academic achievement is devastated.

Findings

The results of the questionnaire support the two hypotheses. The study, because of limitations of length, neither confirms nor disproves the rationale.

Four of six possible situations were evaluated by the AERA members. These six are shown in the table below:

The effects on a Negro child of attending . . .	The effects on a white child of attending . .
a heavily Negro school A	(a heavily Negro school)
a racially balanced school B	a racially balanced school C
(a heavily white school)	a heavily white school D

The two situations bracketed were not investigated because of marginal policy interest.* The remaining four situations, A, B, C, and D, represent either existing or proposed racial proportions.

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*As a possible new policy, token integration of a few whites in heavily Negro schools would displease whites and not ameliorate Negro pressures in northern communities. As a continuing old policy, it is unpopular with white, and — viewing the opposite side of the coin — is perceived as *de facto* segregation by Negroes, no distinction being made in the north between heavily Negro and totally Negro schools.

As a possible new policy, token integration of a few Negroes in heavily white schools, while possibly acceptable to whites, would not constitute a solution to *de facto* segregation to most Negro leaders in the north. As a continuing old policy, token integration of this type is generally classified as evidence of *de facto* segregation by Negroes, and thus is unacceptable. In this case, "in the north" is an important qualifier, since token integration of Negroes into white schools in the south often is accepted by Negroes as an accomplishment of basic objectives.

The professional researchers were asked to judge each of the four situations in terms of its impact on the Negro or white child — whether the impact is good or bad, and whether the impact is strong or weak. To provide an opportunity to express some middle positions between these polar extremes, they were permitted some latitude of opinion by the use of the following format:

IMPACT good ....X....:..........:..........:..........:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong ....:..........:..........:..........:..........:....X....:.......... weak

The questionnaire instructions themselves perhaps best explain the format:

> "An 'X' in one of the blanks should indicate the extent to which you feel an adjective applies. If, for example, the impact described in Question #1 is in your opinion definitely strong, an 'X' would be placed in the blank nearest the word 'strong'. If the impact is modest, one of the middle blanks would be used— and so forth."

(In the example above, the respondent has indicated the equivalent of saying "definitely good and moderately weak.")

The emergent consensus on the good or bad consequences of each of the four situations, A, B, C, and D, is demonstrated in Figures I through IV. The "humps" that appear to the right in Figure I, and to the left in Figures II, III, and IV, are the result of that consensus. (There was considerably less agreement on how strong or weak the impacts are.)

Another way of summarizing the answers is to determine what the median answer to each of the questions was. * The median is one form of an "average," or typical answer. The median answers to the questions relating to Situations A, B, C, and D, are shown in Table I.

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* The median answer divides the total group of answers in half. Half of the educators marked an answer to the left of the median, and half to the right.

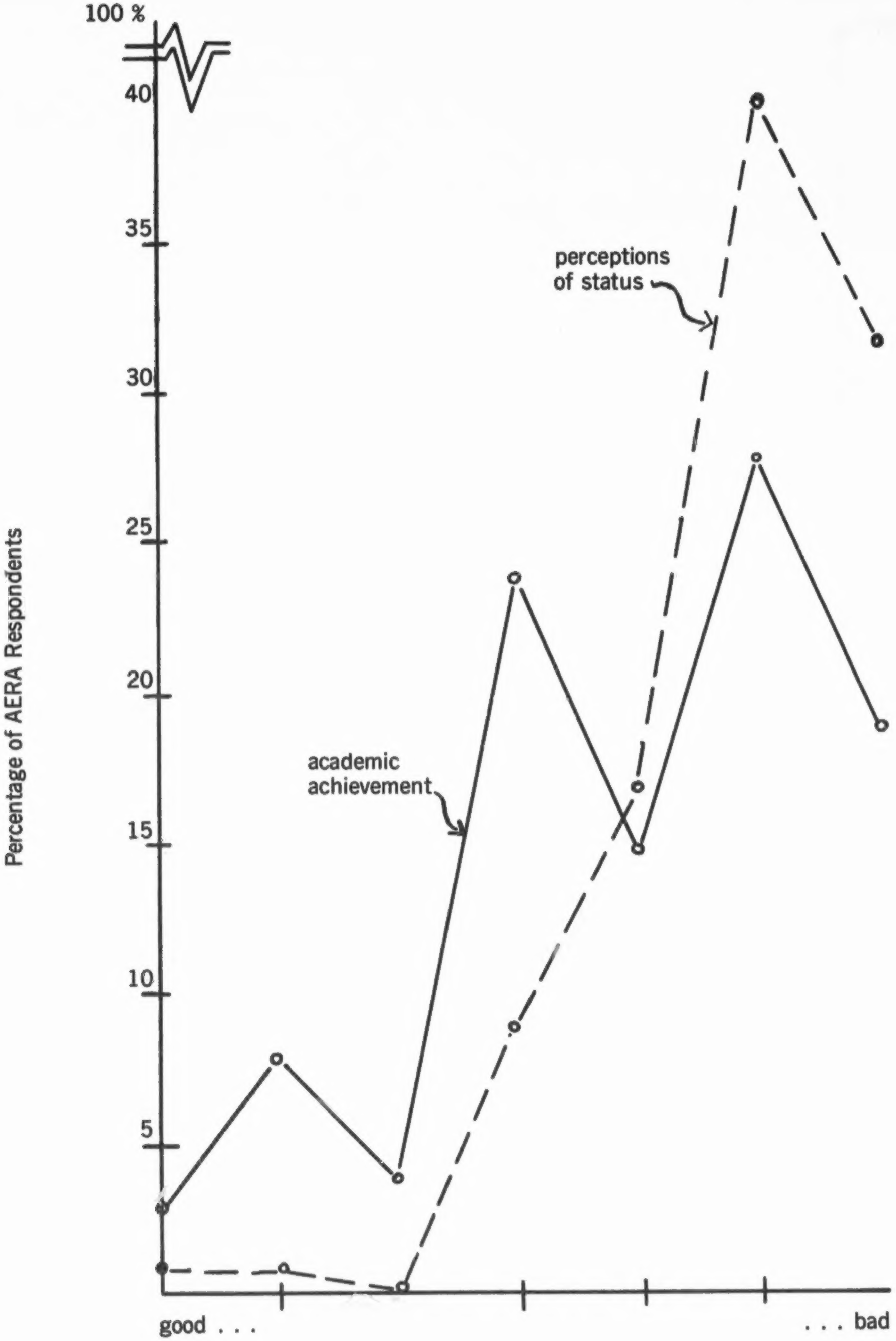

FIGURE I. Impact on Negroes of Attendance in Heavily Negro Schools (Situation A).

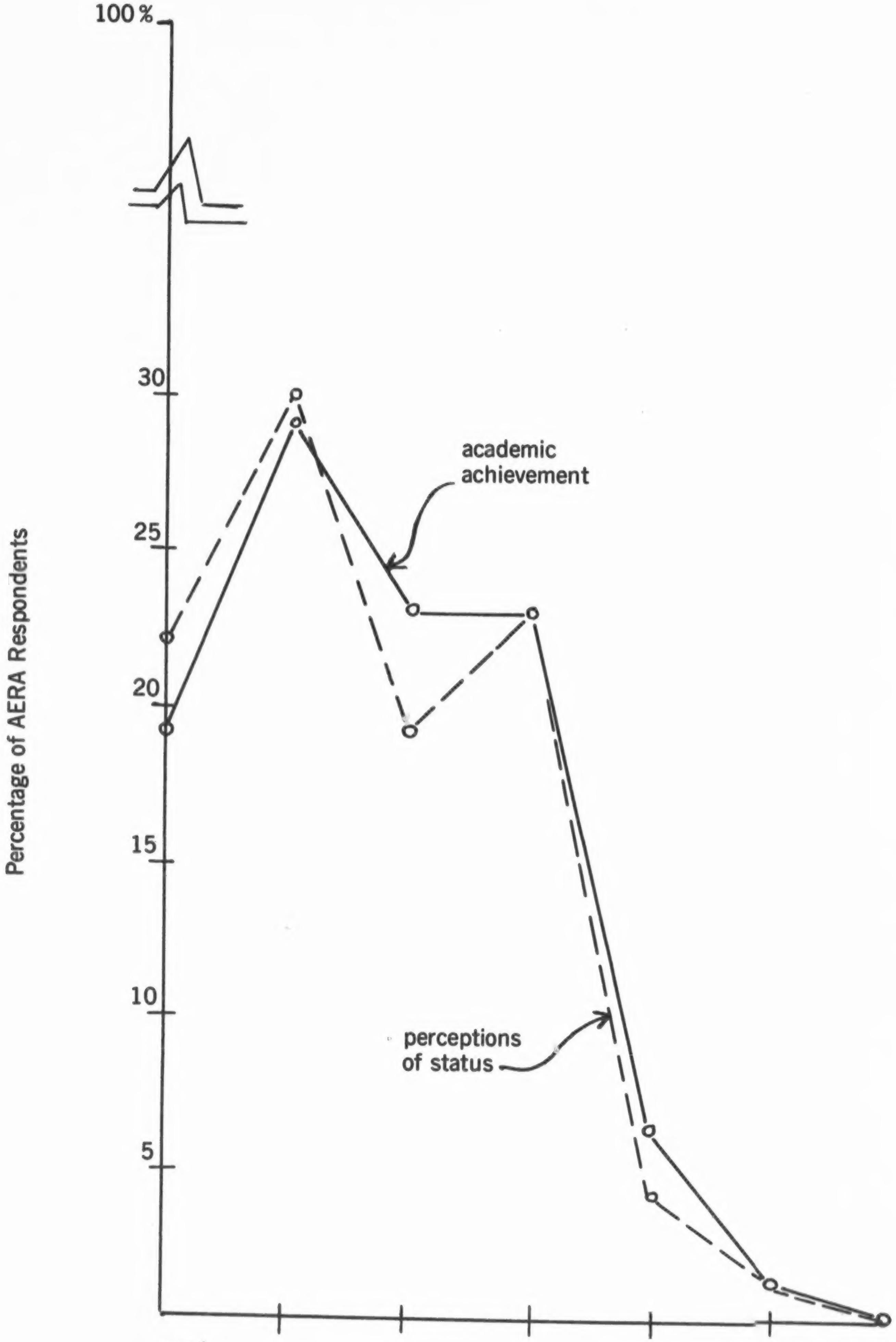

FIGURE II. Impact on Negroes of Attendance in Racially Balanced Schools (Situation B).

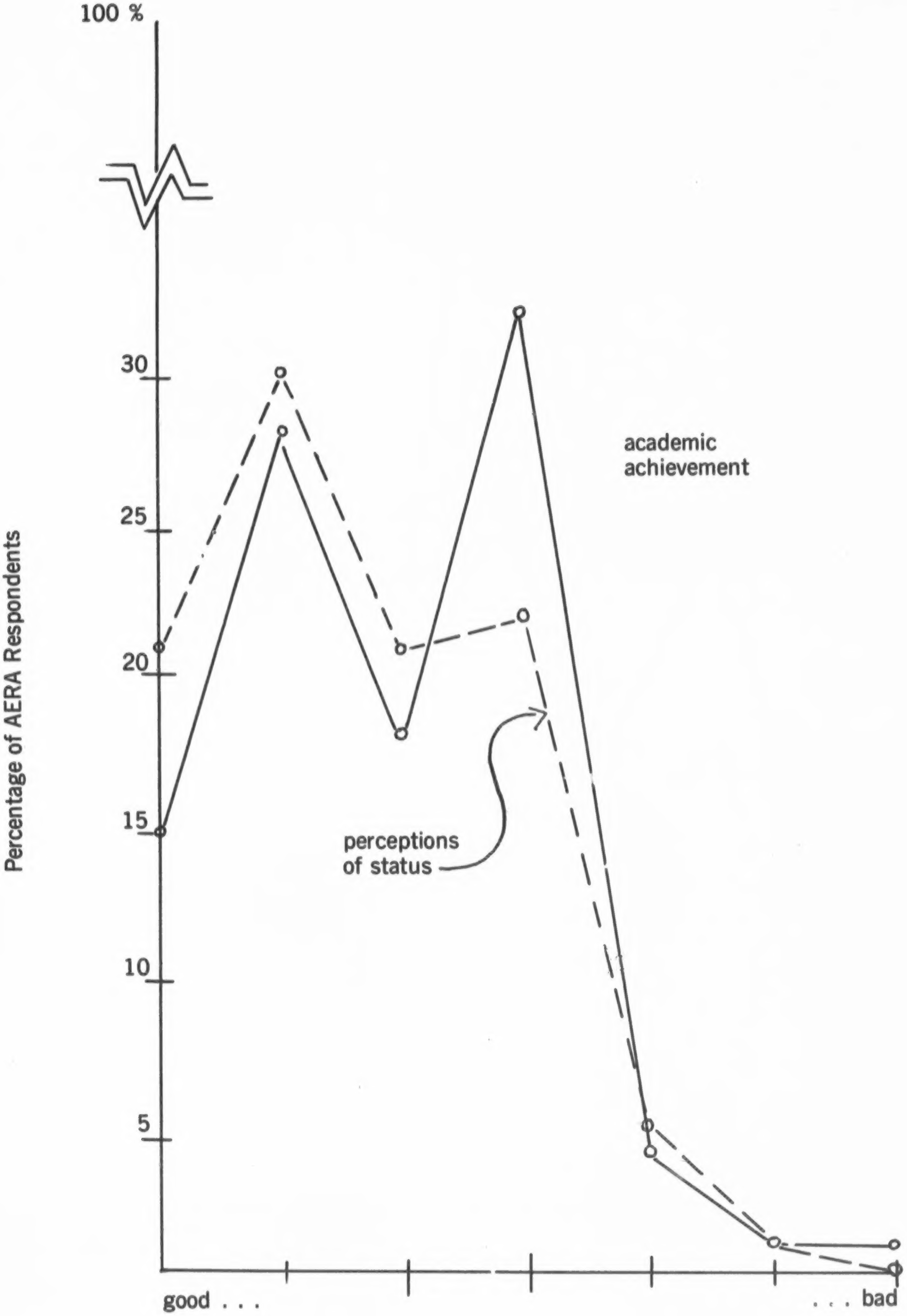

FIGURE III. Impact on Whites of Attendance in Racially Balanced Schools (Situation C).

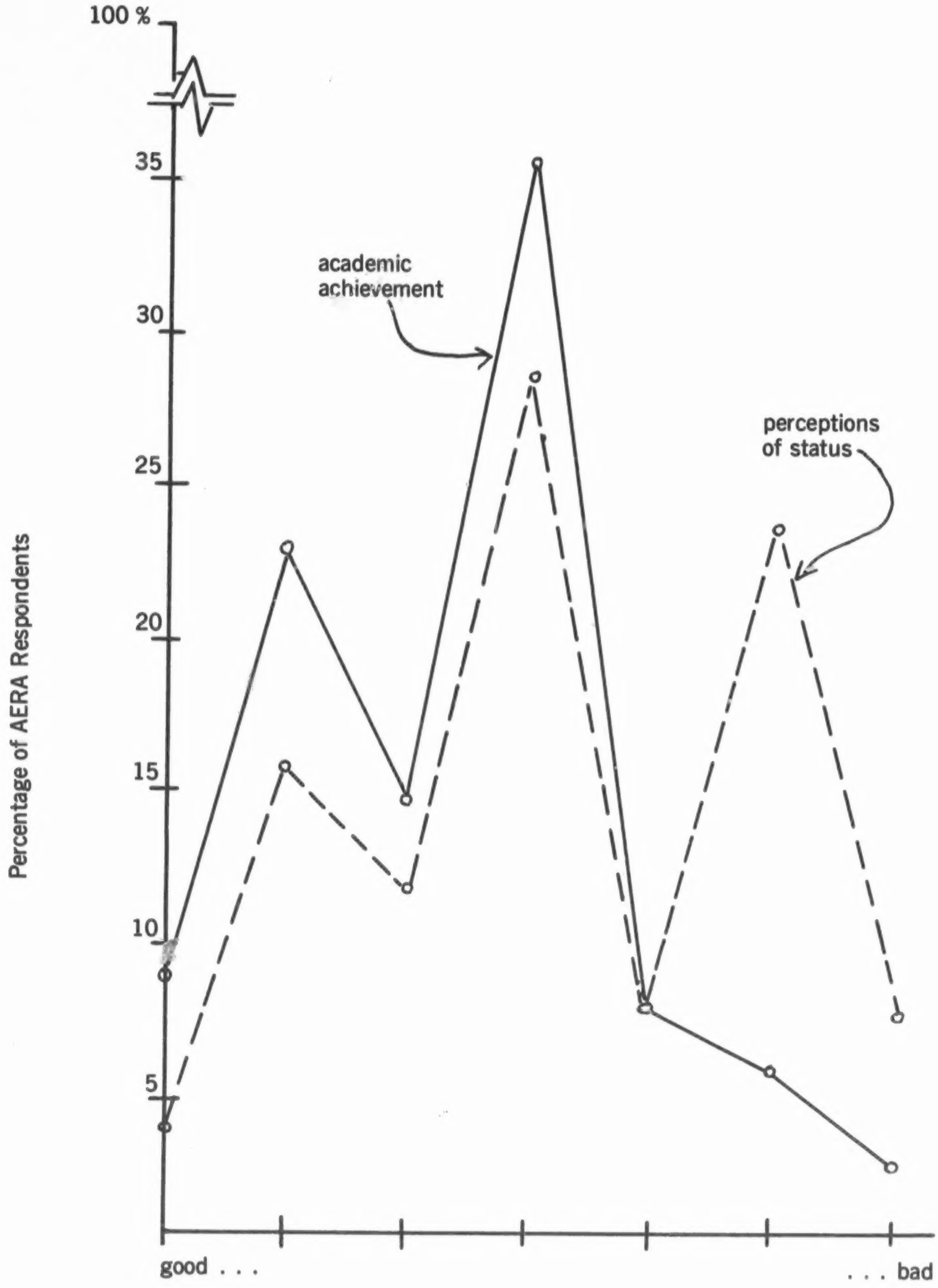

FIGURE IV. Impact on Whites of Attendance in Heavily White Schools (Situation D).

TABLE I. Median Responses

A. In your opinion, what is the educational impact (narrowly defined as academic achievement) on Negro children of attendance in schools that are heavily Negro in composition, after other factors (condition of physical plant, income of parents, etc.) are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:..........:..........:..........:....X.....:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

D. In your opinion, what is the educational impact on white children of attendance in schools that are heavily white in composition, after other factors are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

A. In your opinion, what impact does attendance in heavily Negro schools have on Negro children's ultimate perceptions of their status in society, after other factors are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:..........:..........:..........:..........:....X.....:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

D. In your opinion, what impact does attendance in heavily white schools have on white children's ultimate perception of their status in society, after other factors are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

B. In your opinion, what is the educational impact on Negro children of attendance in racially balanced schools, after other factors are controlled? Please answer in terms of schools that have had such a balance on a long-term basis.

IMPACT good..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

C. In your opinion, what is the educational impact on white children of attendance in racially balanced schools, after other factors are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

B. In your opinion, what impact does attendance in racially-balanced schools have on Negro children's ultimate perceptions of their status in society, after other factors are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

C. In your opinion, what impact does attendance in racially balanced schools have on white children's ultimate perceptions of their status in society, after other factors are controlled?

IMPACT good..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:..........:.......... bad
TENDS TO BE: strong..........:..........:....X.....:..........:..........:..........:.......... weak

Note: Questions are in the order in which they appeared in the questionnaire. The letter preceding each question refers to the appropriate cell of the situation typology outlined in the text.

That the medians are not as extreme as one might expect can be traced to the rather frequent "X"ing of the middle category, signifying that the specified impact is considered "neither good nor bad" or "neither strong nor weak". There is a sound, if somewhat technical reason for a respondent to take this neutral position consistently. (This reason is discussed under "Implications," below.)

A comparison of the questions dealing with impact on Negro youngsters with those dealing with white youngsters yields important differences. On the whole AERA members tend to attribute the same general evaluation to the effects of racial balance on white children as on Negroes. But they are less certain about the effects of whites attending heavily white schools. They reluctantly see this form of segregation as tending toward the "good" side of the ledger, when academic achievement is the referent. And they are sharply split on the question of the benefit or liability accruing to whites attending white schools when the societal image is the referent. While both races gain by achieving racial balance, greater benefits are reaped by Negroes than by whites.

In attributing beneficial effects to "racial balance" the educational researchers used considerable definitional latitude. Asked what they consider "racial balance" to mean in terms of proportion of Negro students to white, several replied that the answer depends on the proportion of Negroes to whites in their community's population as a whole. Many others answered in percentage terms that seemed to indicate that their frame of reference was the proportion of Negroes to whites in the United States as a whole, namely 10-15%. A third group chose to call "racial balance" one in which the two races are present in roughly equal numbers. The various definitions are summarized in Figure V.

Definitions of "heavily Negro" and "heavily white" again seemed to be related to the proportion of Negroes to whites in the United States. Most AERA members do not consider a school to be "heavily white" until the whites in that school find themselves more than 20% of the total student body. On the other hand, a school becomes "heavily Negro" at a lower percentage mark. The median definition lies between 70 and 75%. Despite this difference, it is remarkable that the median figure is not lower, and a great deal lower. That it isn't is undoubtedly in part a reflection on the number of persons who also interpret racial balance as approximately 50% white and Negro.

Most of the AERA respondents made only modest claims for their expertise in this particular subject area. Their opinions were based, they said, primarily on personal judgment, as against research findings. In many instances, however, that judgment was based on direct, personal experience. They were about evenly divided in their self-evaluation of the extent of their professional involvement in the area of Negro-white relationships. This modesty should not obscure the fact that this professional group is among the best qualified to assess racial imbalance. Their reliance on personal judgment reflects the dearth of available, relevant, and unimpeachable research in this critical field of social relationships.

Implications

The 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court isolated the psychological, and hence behavioral, impact of *de jure* school segregation from other factors affecting Negro school performance and life outlook. By ruling that separate schools are inherently deleterious, it in effect said that lower Negro achievement and self-image are related to more than older school buildings, lower parental income, quality of teachers, home environment, and other such factors. The absence of contact with whites constitutes a major factor contributing to their lower status in life. Consequently, upgrading of Negro schools cannot serve as an adequate remedy.

As an extension, it is now argued that *de facto* separation of the races in school similarly undermines self-image and academic achievement, regardless of whether heavily Negro schools have equal or superior facilities and staffs, serve families of higher income and education than some heavily-white schools, and so forth. The fact of segregation is easily communicated to the minority youngster, and the difference between *de jure* and *de facto* is both unknown and irrelevant to him.

3

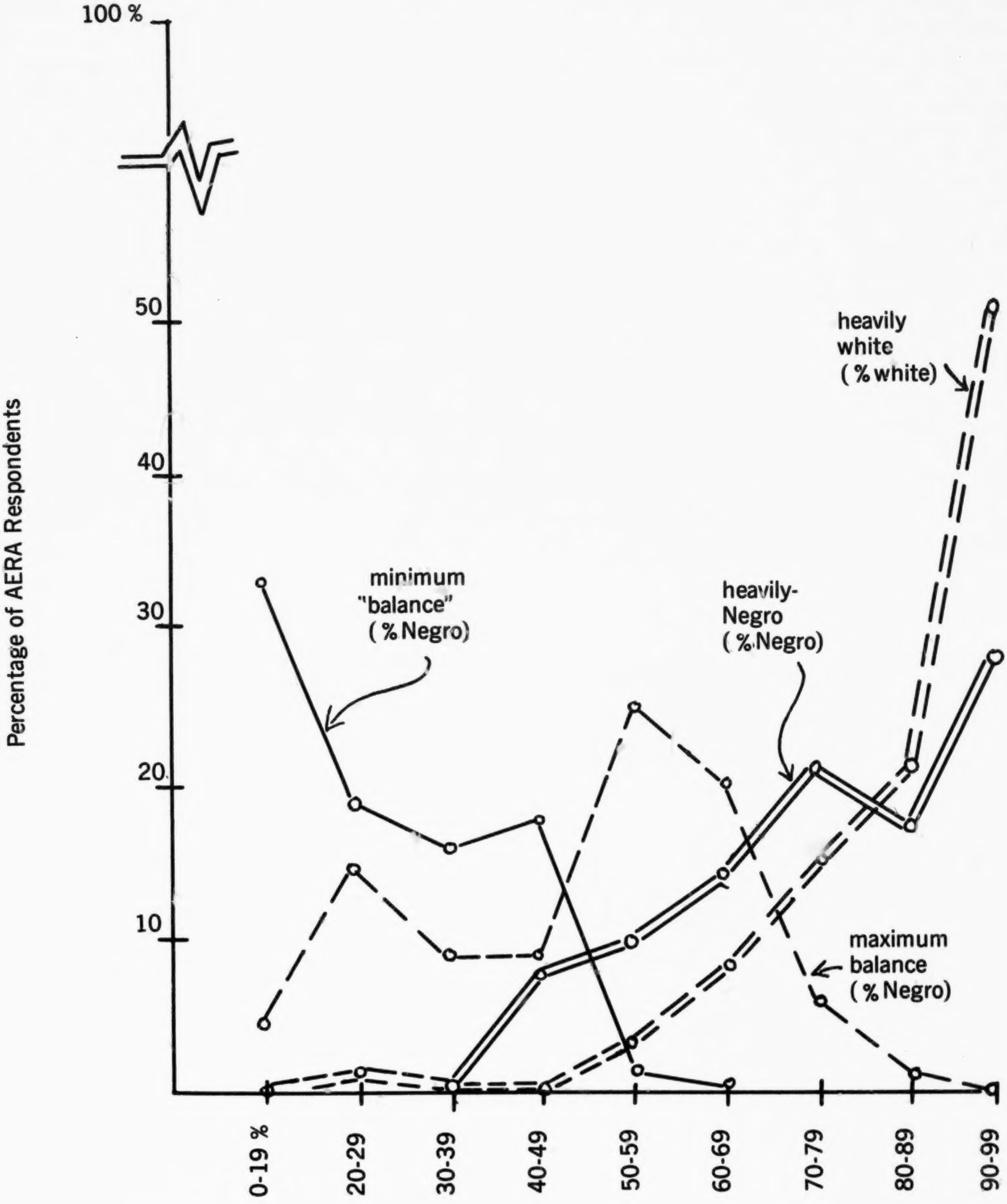

FIGURE V. Definitions of Racial Proportions.

Segregation *per se*, then, has a substantial effect, independent of other factors; or so it is argued. It is this effect, as distinct from other ones that undeniably contributes to the total picture of how Negroes perform in homogeneous or heterogeneous schools, that this study attempted to isolate for professional evaluation. Accordingly, the phrase, "after other factors are controlled," appeared in each question. Control here was intended to suggest either experimental control or statistical control (in the sense of breaking down a total correlation coefficient into its partial correlates). A segment of the respondents conveyed the opinion that controlling other factors is impossible; it was apparent that they were thinking only of experimental control.

The unfeasibility of listing the "other factors" that were to be considered to be controlled left the definition of what precisely was to be measured to the discretion of the respondents — a hazardous, but necessary measure, given the intent of the study. Given this ambiguity, some respondents chose to answer in terms of *all* other factors being controlled, including the cultural implications of race. Removal of the cultural significance of homogeneous or heterogeneous schooling rendered it appropriate to answer all the questions by "X"ing the middle categories: "neither bad nor good," and "neither strong nor weak." This approach was chosen by enough respondents to muddy the intentions of the majority of respondents, who chose to make more meaningful answers. Less extreme medians are a result of this muddying. When this technical matter is accounted for, the basic consensus and strength of professional judgment emerges from the study.

In summary, what this study reveals is a conviction among educational specialists that heterogeneous racial experience in schools is a positive experience for both Negroes and whites, and more so for Negroes than whites. The findings underline the fact that the problem of *de facto* segregation is not only a matter of possible "short-changing" of Negro school districts — a matter that could be cured by crash expenditures in existing districts — but is also a problem inherent in separation of the races, given the cultural significance of race in American society. This second element of the problem cannot be solved by compensatory expenditures in existing Negro districts. It can be solved only by more imaginative school policies which result in greater dispersal of Negro students among whites.

THE INCLUSIVE SCHOOL

JOHN H. FISCHER

President, Teachers College
Columbia University

It has not been a long time, really, since teaching could accurately be called a quiet profession. Although in every generation some of the most stimulating — and disturbing — people have been teachers, those who preferred to be neither disturbing nor disturbed could, until quite recently, find satisfying seclusion in the classroom. A few such havens may still be left, but every year they become more difficult to find.

Today few teachers or school administrators have any choice but to be involved in many of the most perplexing, most controversial, and most important issues and efforts that now engage the world's attention. In the highly developed countries scarcely less than in the struggling new nations, the school is increasingly being viewed as the foundation, the instrument, and the symbol of virtually every good thing toward which modern man aspires.

EQUALITY OF ACCESS

In a large and growing number of American communities the most difficult questions school people now face are those arising from a new awareness that what we have been calling equal opportunity for education is not enough; that opportunity alone is of limited usefulness at best until access to it is also equalized. The difficulty is magnified by the fact that the groups for whom such access is often obstructed are the racial minorities who most need education in order to prepare themselves for effective participation in the culture and the society.

Part of what we face is the universal and universally troublesome question of how best to respect the role and protect the rights of ethnic minorities, a problem many countries face and few have solved. To the extent of the similarity, the counterpart of the American dilemma is found in many places, but in certain important details the situation in this country differs to the point of uniqueness.

Sometimes it is said that those responsible for schools should take no account of the racial, social, or national backgrounds of their students — that, on the contrary, fair and equal treatment is possible only when teachers are colorblind and beneficently neutral toward all the antecedent differences of students. On its face, this argument is plausible and appealing, for at first glance it seems the epitome of nondiscrimination and democracy. The trouble with it is that it can be and is used to justify ghetto schools and to rationalize teaching that overlooks massive obstacles to learning.

Teaching and the management of schools *would* be easier and simpler if we could disregard the conditions that follow on injustice and perpetuate prejudice. And we *could*, of course, if we could quiet our consciences or close our eyes to educational consequences. To ignore in the school the peculiar handicaps the American Negro pupil suffers because of his history and status in this country, or to fail to teach so as to compensate for those handicaps, is to be irresponsible and unrealistic. When schools are as deeply imbedded in the life of the nation as ours are, when so many hopes rise and fall on the outcome of a family's efforts to educate its children, when education is the key to so many other opportunities, no public school that ignores the special conditions affecting its Negro pupils can be either faithful to its duties or effective in discharging them. The limitations and disabilities that now afflict the vast majority of Negro pupils reflect at once the deeply urgent needs of children as persons and the central social problem of our time.

SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES

The school's obligation to deal directly and deliberately with racial differences and relationships should not be interpreted to mean that the school can carry the entire burden

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alone. The history of the current crisis is long, tragic, and complex, and we shall not dispose of it overnight. Nor is it possible now to specify everything that is required to set things right or to lay out precise time-tables for all the steps that must be taken. But neither must we assume that because the problem of racial discrimination has been with us for three and a half centuries, we have another three in which to find solutions. As one observer put it recently, this country has already wasted fourteen generations of Negro talent and it dare not waste another.

The rate of change is of the essence of the matter. In any social change, a reckless pace can lead to extra trouble; but in the field of race relations, America's experience with high speed has been, to say the most, limited. We shall need to distinguish much more sharply than we have between the degree of good order that adds stability to speed and those forms of systematic retardation that are designed to serve obstructionism.

The problems of racial discrimination and deprivation have been intertwined with every aspect of American society and with most of our institutions. To counter the predictable difficulty of the changes that must come, intelligent and imaginative approaches will have to be devised in many fields and in many ways. As the economy, the culture, the political system, and religious forces have been part of the cause, each must be part of the solution. Moreover, the response must come not only in the public sector, where we allow the government to speak and act for us, but even more vigorously and directly through our private behavior. The dilemmas we face are not matters merely of abstract reasoning, theoretical justice, or intellectual exercises in liberalism. We confront deeply personal issues of conscience and morality.

The only simple part of the struggle for equality is its moral aspect. Here the principles are starkly clear. They have been the heart of our heritage for as long as the memory of our civilization runs. At the beginning of our own national existence almost two centuries ago, we Americans put the matter in unmistakable terms when we declared without equivocation or modification that *all* men are created equal, each endowed by his Creator with the *same* inalienable rights. And long before that declaration, the spiritual progenitors of our culture had enshrined the doctrine that each man is his brother's keeper, that all men share the common obligation to love their neighbors as themselves.

To build a nation, or even a single school, upon these moral foundations has never been easy, but we shall not be honest with ourselves if we treat the effort as less than necessary. In our time, the requirement is utterly inescapable.

THE SCHOOL AS PROMISE

To fill the gap between our principles and our practices will require commitment and action by many agencies and institutions, but the most powerful and promising single means we possess is the school. Every other effort to establish genuine equality of opportunity among our people depends finally upon a strong and effective system of education. The outlines of the school's task are well known. We repeat them so often that they lose their impact. But they are the direct translation into policy, curriculum, and pedagogy of the moral bases on which our society is predicated. To the degree that the school's traditional purposes come true for a child, the words *freedom*, *equality*, *democracy* take on meaning for him. But when the school fails to relate these ideals to the child's own world, to the realities of his experience, what others call with confidence the American way of life must remain for him a fiction or a fraud.

It is the school's obligation to see that for every pupil three main goals become visible and attainable:

It must help him to make the most of his capacities.

It must enable him to acquire the intellectual skills necessary for a life of continuous learning.

It must prepare him to find for himself a productive, significant role in the world and offer him reasonable hope of filling it with satisfaction to himself and his fellow men.

The record of success of many American schools in providing such opportunities for disadvantaged children is by no means impressive. Some schools have failed because they have never had a chance to succeed. A community or a state that will not support decent schools for its children can hardly expect those children to become well-educated men and women.

In other places, where the schools are better, those responsible for them often pay more attention to the fortunate than to the unfortunate among their pupils. Too many of us who teach are ready to accept credit for what we get rather than for what we give. A school whose pupils happen to come from superior homes is almost invariably credited with higher "standards" than one whose students live in poorer surroundings. The unhappy consequence is that disadvantaged children often find themselves rejected because their very presence is considered a hazard to the school's reputation. If the medical profession followed a comparable philosophy, hospitals would build their standing by admitting only patients in vigorous good health!

Other schools fail to meet the needs of children from depressed minorities because of a restricted conception of what opportunity means. Even schools which open their doors freely to all comers often overlook the crucial truth that no situation is an opportunity except for those who can see its possibilities. The chance to learn means nothing to a child until he has been taught that learning can be rewarding for him. In children, as in adults, attitudes induced by the present environment and reinforced by centuries of repression are not reversed by the simple process of unlocking classroom doors.

THE TIME IS NOW

Genuinely successful school programs for disadvantaged children will require more than open doors, warm hearts and a sympathetic reception. Good intentions alone are a pathetically inadequate response to the professional and technical problems of teaching large numbers of young people whose counterparts we have never before seriously tried to educate beyond basic literacy. The transition of these youngsters from a chronic condition of discouragement and rejection to an environment in which ambition and upward mobility are normal expectations poses serious cultural and educational difficulties — for the children and their parents as well as for their teachers.

We face, therefore, an urgent need for basic studies which will involve all we know and all we can learn through the social and behavioral sciences, in the professional specialties of education, and from every other field of study and experience. To bridge the gap between the culture which the schools traditionally represent and that which characterizes most of the unschooled population of the country calls for curricula, teaching materials, and forms of pedagogical practice which most of our schools have scarcely dreamed of, much less developed. But the need for new knowledge in no way justifies delay in using what we now know, or what we are able now to do, imperfect and incomplete though these may be.

Nor do our present shortcomings justify further delay in desegregating schools. The effects upon Negro children of separate education in schools that other groups vigorously and consistently disapprove for their own children are apparent and deplorable. Where, for geographic or other good reasons, separate schools may for a time be unavoidable, we have no choice but to do the best we can within them. In virtually all such schools, the opportunities for improvement are impressively visible. But we must constantly emphasize the essential importance of bringing children of all races into school together. Action to accomplish this must be taken deliberately, systematically, and rapidly wherever it can be taken without clear damage to the educational opportunities of the children involved.

The desegregation of the schools is by no means all that is required to bring Negro Americans into the mainstream of the nation's life and culture, but it is an indispensable part of a broader program. Those who contend that Negroes, like every other ethnic or national minority in our history, should find their own way into the common current overlook or misunderstand important historical facts.

The position of the Negro minority in the United States has been from the beginning uniquely different. The statement that the Negro is simply where the Irishman was a century ago is a deceptive generalization which the facts will simply not support. Whatever other problems the Irishman had to face, nowhere in the country was he forced by law or official ingenuity to send his children to a separate school, nor when he entered a public vehicle was he directed to a segregated seat.

Precisely because we have so long discriminated privately and publicly to depress the Negro's status and to keep him isolated, we must now undertake no less deliberately, privately and publicly, both to reverse the customary practices and to redress their effects. This means inviting, encouraging, persuading the Negro to become an active participant in the affairs of his community and the country. The process could hardly be begun in a more appropriate way or one more likely to be successful than by making the Negro child a wholly accepted and respected member of the common school.

ON "LEVELING"

But is it true, as some say, that when culturally deprived children enter a school with more fortunate pupils, they depress its quality? Is the inevitable price of integration a leveling down of the school? Of course it is possible for such effects to occur. All too often they *have* occurred, not because of racial differences but as a sequel to social, cultural, and economic changes in neighborhoods to which the schools, for whatever reasons, have been unable to make suitable adjustments.

The point is that deterioration in teaching and learning is not inevitable.

A good book loses no value for a child of high reading ability because another child in the class reads less well. A teacher capable of introducing children to the orderly wonders of mathematics is not diminished in his skill because some of his pupils need it more than others. A school's effectiveness is measured not by the capability or the experiences of pupils before they enter it, but by the quality of the teaching they receive within it. Those who fear that Negro children must ruin any white class they enter are as wrong as those who insist that no Negro class can be any good until it has a few white faces in it. What is required are school policies, curricula, and facilities intelligently designed to meet the needs of modern education; professional staffs prepared by training and temperament to treat every pupil with respect and seriousness; and enough support, monetary and moral, to enable each staff member to work to the level of his highest competence.

The most compelling argument for integrating schools is that all our children of whatever race must learn to live in a world in which no race can any longer choose to live apart. In the modern world, isolationism has become an absurd anachronism. Anyone who so quarantines a child that he may know only people of his own race damages that child's chance to learn to live intelligently, sensitively, and responsibly in the only world he will have to live in as an adult.

Nor can we absolve our responsibility simply by adopting a policy of nondiscrimination — opening all doors and letting nature take its course. If we accept the proposition that children learn from each other as surely as they do from books, if we agree that they must learn to live in a multiracial world, it follows that we dare not leave some of their most important learning opportunities to chance. A laissez-faire policy which allows the student body of a school, so to speak, to form itself with no regard for the educational consequences must then be as unacceptable as pure permissiveness in allowing children to find wholly by accident the facts they learn or the books they read.

BENEFIT TO ALL

If our schools are to prepare our children as they should, as in all reality they must, the schools themselves must become more, and more deliberately, inclusive. They must move in this direction not to offer grudging charity to those who have been excluded, but for the clear educational benefit of *all* pupils. It is one of the paradoxes of our time that the figure of the shrinking earth describes only relationships of space and time. With respect to human relations, the world each of us personally inhabits grows steadily and rapidly larger. No man today has any choice but to be part of a greater and more diverse community. To forego the opportunity to educate our children faithfully and imaginatively for this larger world will be to fail them tragically and inexcusably.

Those who share the responsibility for the decisions, the judgments, the actions required to make America's schools more broadly and more deliberately inclusive must be prepared to confront not only the demanding dilemmas of policy formation, but the sometimes even more perplexing details of classroom management and personal guidance. To concede that there are no easy formulae for performing these tasks is only to state a superfluous truism. But in the search for useful criteria to appraise policies and practices to carry us toward a school at once genuinely educational and truly universal, we shall hardly find a better standard than the one John Dewey gave us at the turn of the century: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy."

Effects of Ethnic Group Concentration Upon Educational Process, Personality Formation, and Mental Health

CHARLES A. PINDERHUGHES, M.D.

Chief, Psychiatry Service, Veterans Administration Hospital,
Associate Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Tufts University School
of Medicine, Boston, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION

Current controversy over the nature and psychological effects of separation and segregation of groups has led to a reexamination of earlier contributions of historians, psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and other social and behavioral scientists in this field. This paper examines some of the pervasive and deeply ingrained deleterious effects of ethnic group concentration, with special reference to Negroes, from a psychiatric point of view.

For seven decades psychiatrists have shown intense interest in understanding the forces which have impact upon behavior and which determine the characteristic patterns of strivings and response each individual shows. Ordinarily, this interest has been confined to the life space of an individual, usually a patient, and broader social influences have been left for examination by other behavioral scientists. First in the mental health movement,[1] and more recently in the developments of social psychiatry and community psychiatry,[2] psychiatrists have employed their resources in synchrony with those who apply other behavioral sciences. The result, for psychiatrists, has been an increasing interest in social and cultural forces and a growing sense of responsibility for increased involvement.[3]

Social and cultural forces manifest themselves in pervasive ways as integral parts of personalities and institutions. Just as the forces which are active within personalities in the present can more fully be understood by study of their sources and evolution from the past, so social and cultural forces, such as high ethnic group concentration or segregation, can be better understood by examination of their recent and remote antecedents. The findings of a broad spectrum of social scientists have already been applied to diagnose the ailments that accompany the practice of segregation in the South,[4] and in the North.[5] The term "de facto segregation" has been employed where patterns of segregation" has been employed where patterns of segregation are found without sanction under law and has been applied almost exclusively to Negroes. Some facets of this issue are of critical importance in personality development and thus are properly in the professional province of physicians as well as that of educators, politicians, and lawyers. Indeed, the issue has become a legitimate concern of the residents in most large cities of the United States. It is the purpose of this paper to contribute to understanding of this issue rather than to provide solutions.

EFFECTS OF ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The Schools and De Facto Segregation of Negroes

The former superintendent of Boston Public Schools, Dr. Frederick J. Gillis, in his annual report of 1961-1962,[6] described Boston as one of 14 great cities in America which have unique problems involving the core city where culturally deprived immigrants, handicapped with a second-class education or illiteracy, persons unsuited for the skilled labor market, a pool of unemployables, many persons on welfare, rot of moral fibre, squalor, disease, high incidence of learning problems and pupil dropout, juvenile delinquents, and unwed mothers exist in quantity. He further described the demoralizing economic and social factors which stamp the citizens as second-class, inadequate, and wholly without significant aspirational goals. He described the need for teachers who are better than average, the need for vast adjustments on the part of schools, and the need for greater expenditures per pupil than those required in the education of children from middle-class homes. In addition, he delineated the need for introduction to cultural facilities, the need for trips to museums, libraries, and "to any and every place that will contribute to giving him (the pupil) a sense of belonging and to raising his aspirational goals."

While some of the ills described can be cured or at least alleviated by compensatory education programs and vigorous urban renewal, there remains a core of problems which relate to a fact omitted from Dr. Gillis' report. Many of the persons referred to are Negroes, living in a relatively sharply delineated area in high concentration and with restricted opportunity for movement. In areas which are heavily populated by a single ethnic group, the enrollment of some schools may be predominantly or completely of one group. The term "de facto segregation" may be applied to such situations even where there is opportunity for free movement of individuals if desired, although the term is commonly reserved for circumstances in which there is restriction of opportunities for movement.

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

There is a hidden curriculum in every school which teaches, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, how to get along with one's fellowman and how to think about and evaluate oneself and others. Individuals within a school serve as models for imitation and identification, and each student is pressed to conform to the kinds of attitudes, beliefs, mores, and behavior which surround him. The areas and styles of conforming, competing, rebelling, and cooperating are part of this hidden curriculum. Such observations, legends, and myths as support this curriculum are also included.

SCHOOL COUNSELING SUPPORTS PREVAILING PATTERNS

A part of the hidden curriculum includes an education and training toward conformity not only to the mores within the school but to those mores existing in the community at large. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the guidance and counseling areas. Since one of the goals of education is to provide opportunity for the student to develop a place for himself in the wider social family into which he goes, counseling is of critical importance. The counselor must realistically assist students toward the realization of their potentials on one hand and toward such opportunities as exist on the other. A Negro child and a white child of equivalent equipment and potential when realistically counseled toward existing opportunities have often been counseled toward different occupations in which there were differing rewards. The school system thus functions as an intimate part of a larger social system and often assists in perpetuating its ills. We might ask whether counselors should have "unrealistically" encouraged Negroes to prepare for areas in which there is aptitude, whether or not there is opportunity. This might have constituted a disservice to individual students. On the other hand, the absence of "qualified" Negroes at present is in part related to our educational system which prepares the students for the outside world, including the values and mores which exist there.

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL CLIMATE

For more than a decade we have recognized the importance of intangibles such as the reputation and influence of a school, of its teachers, of its pupils, and the nature of its neighborhood. Supreme Court decisions on the quality of education have been based upon such factors in 1950 and 1954. Such factors provide a basic matrix which contributes to the tone and character of the educational program as well as to comparative ratings and to public opinions. Unfavorable rumors, true or false, concerning inferiority of schools, of teachers, or of pupils have devastating effects and further demoralize teachers, pupils, and parents. Moreover, judgment of the adequacy and superior worth of some schools gained from the existence of other schools rumored to be inferior leads to an unrealistic and unadaptive appraisal based on invidious comparison rather than upon personal growth and development.[7]

The recent spotlight upon schools has been directed less upon the formal curricula and more upon the informal education, the classroom "atmosphere" and "climate," and upon the psychological and cultural traits of students, all of which may show considerable variation from school to school even when curriculum and teacher activity may be relatively standardized. As much attention should be directed to the educational process between pupils as is currently given to the educational process between teachers and pupils.

IMPORTANCE OF PEER-LEARNING

Peer-learning in school is never stressed and especially needs to be examined in areas of racial imbalance. While there is always a relationship between peer-learning and teacher-to-pupil learning, the extent to which the relationship is complementary or supplementary, or frankly antagonistic is of prime importance. A larger group, emotionally disturbed students, disrupting students, and lack of group cohesion cause a shift in educational process from teacher-to-pupil learning toward peer-learning. Similar factors may promote a peer-learning situation which is frankly antagonistic to the teacher-to-pupil learning. In his report, former Superintendent Gillis clearly described such situations.

Discriminating parents who have opportunity to make choices regularly evaluate the informal features of schools as well as the formal aspects. They wish to know the range of interests and motivations of other students in the school because these may strongly influence the manner in which a child relates to the formal content of school. The range of interests of other students may determine whether a child pursues activities which are in line with, tangential, or deviant to the formal schooling. How a child uses his after-school time and weekends may have much to do with what he informally learns from fellow students.

What do the pupils learn from one another in the unplanned informal curriculum? Certainly teachers are not teaching students to drop out and to misuse their educational opportunities. Pupils learn such things from other pupils. Other students serve as models to be imitated, as models with which to identify.

Each individual has both constructive and destructive potentials available for development. Which potentials are reenforced into dominance depend greatly upon the interaction with the environment. In their struggle to become accepted, protected, and a part of the school group in which they find themselves, pupils may find learning from peers to be far more practical than learning subject matter for seemingly distant future application. Disobedience and competitive mischief-making may be required to secure safety and respect from peers in those situations where pupil leadership is strong in these directions.

What students learn from their interaction with peers may be in direct conflict with the instruction and training of their teachers and may sabotage the planned educational process. Dr. Benjamin C. Willis, Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools and Director of a Massachusetts Education Study, in his address to the Massachusetts Congress of Parents and Teachers in Swampscott, Massachusetts on October 25, 1963, indicated that the three factors essential to quality education are those who teach, the tools they work with, including the building they work in, and the leadership provided. While agreeing with this statement the author believes that our minds do not ordinarily conceptualize the pupils as leaders. While the teacher is the designated leader of the class, there are times when students exercise leadership roles either for cliques in the class or for the entire class. The leadership provided by the students may be in support of the teacher or may run counter to the teacher's efforts.

This vast, complex field of student interactions, of informal unscheduled learning processes, and of identifications which are occurring in every school has seldom been seriously considered by public schools as a part of the educational process. Private and parochial schools have generally shown more interest in this field. The interactions between students in public schools are more apt to be viewed as areas to be wrestled with, mastered and controlled so that formal education can proceed. Indeed this might be a fertile community area for application of psychiatric concepts of group dynamics.[8]

It is important to distinguish the child who directs himself predominantly from within from the one who is easily influenced and directed by those around him. The informal peer education is not crucial to the development of the inner-directed child since he can more successfully determine his own course. For the child who relies upon others for control, for guidance, for structure, and for decisions, the informal education occurring between pupils may provide critical features in forming the cast of his character and the directions of his life.

In general, the younger the pupil the greater is the dependence upon persons in the environment to provide values and to determine direction. Ordinarily students in preschool, kindergarten, and the early grades are very responsive to the impulses arising within themselves or in their immediate vicinity. They learn from those around them the values and attitudes which influence their perception and their management of inner feelings and ideas as well as those they encounter from others.

EFFECTS OF ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON PERSONALITY FORMATION

THE CULTURAL BRAINWASH

The interaction of the child with his environment develops his personality and the cultural attributes of the groups in which a child is reared exert a molding effect. Not to be forgotten is the fact that physiological functioning and physical health are influenced by interpersonal interactions since emotional responses are accompanied by functional reactions in body organs.

Each ethnic group induces its warp on the individuals within it, producing large numbers of individuals with a similarity in personal characteristics. These traits are selectively developed from the many potentials which are available. Each individual thereby develops many traits in common with others in his group and experiences the advantages and disadvantages of the culture he is within and with which he identifies.

Of all the ethnic groups in the United States only one group, the Negro, has presented a strong complaint that it receives an inferior education as a direct result of a heavy concentration of its own group in neighborhood schools. How can it be explained that a harmful effect can result in one group which does not result in the others? The rich resources of Frazier,[9] Clark,[10] Myrdal,[11] Kardiner and Ovessey,[12] and Elkins,[13] proved helpful in formulating the following partial answers to this question. Emphasis has been placed upon the central role played by institutionalized education in determining the manner in which American culture has affected personality formation in American Negroes.

The difference between communities of American Negroes and communities of all other ethnic groups are extensive, but usually overlooked. The American Negro is the only minority group in the United States without a culture of its own. All other groups have a religion, an internal source of authority and group cohesion, a special language, traditions, institutions or other roots which are traceable to a lengthy group existence, usually in another country. American Negroes have none of these.

THE SOUTHERN COMPOUND

The numerous languages, family and group ties, and all prior cultural institutions of the millions of slaves brought to America were destroyed. An establishment for producing docility and for training slaves was developed. Laws guaranteed the master absolute power over his slaves and permitted unlimited physical and psychological discipline to break and train slaves to unquestioning obedience. The machinery of the police and courts were not available to slaves, and owners tried and executed sentences upon them. Marriage was denied any standing in law, and laws decreed that fathers of slaves were legally unknown. Children could be sold without their mothers except in Louisiana, which kept the mother-child relationship preserved until the child reached ten years of age. There was a general belief that education would make slaves dissatisfied and rebellious, so distribution of books, including the Bible, or teaching of slaves was prohibited by law in some States.

Thus, by means of one of the most coercive social systems on record the character of American Negroes, and the nature of their families and of their groups were clearly and rigidly defined in a closed system which supplied the training and sanctions needed to produce recognizable personality types. Such stereotyped characteristics were produced by this environmental pressure that some persons, viewing the products of this system, have gained the erroneous impression that the characteristics were inherent in the people rather than induced. For eight generations of slaves in a closed family-like system, every vital concern focussed upon the master as an omnipotent father whose establishment molded the character and behavior of his slaves. The child-rearing practices of the slave mothers constituted his most important training school, and produced obedient, docile slaves whose aggressions were directed primarily against themselves. In time, child-rearing practices became stereotyped into life and death struggles to inhibit and reverse all assertiveness or aggression, especially in male children.

After emancipation from slavery, segregative practices kept the Negro captive in his compound, and continued his training to his dependent, and low-caste servant role.

Even as large immigrating groups of English, West Indian Negroes, Irish, Jews, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, French, Chinese, Italians, Africans, Indians, Germans, or others carry with them many central and residual elements of their prior cultures, so also large numbers of American Negroes migrating from the South to Northern cities have carried with them patterns which originated in the South.

THE NORTHERN COMPOUND

With the migration of Negroes to the North, no rigid, formal segregation supported by law was needed. The Negroes from the South were well trained to support and perpetuate the system to which they had accommodated. They had been taught a way of relating to the world in which white people were central, and they could not see that the Northern white person differed inside from the ones known in the past.

It is commonly recognized that persons who have felt inferior, criticized and discriminated against in one situation unconsciously carry these feelings with them into new situations where they behave as if they were still subjected to the same treatment. Negroes forged into a low-caste group in the South have, upon migrating, unconsciously induced relationships in the North similar to those in the South. With "segregation de jure" stamped into and thoroughly interwoven in the culture and into the personalities of Southern Negroes, it was inevitable that it should be carried northward to precipitate as "de facto segregation."

They formed their compounds in the Northern cities, and in these de facto segregated communities they reproduced and passed on the only culture they had to pass on, with the only child-rearing practices they knew, in the matrix of the only family structure and group organization they had known. Over many years a culture had been developed in the compound which kept the people there functioning in the same old ways. The patterns and codes reached every member and sank deeply into many personalities. Older ones cannot be persuaded to change — they have been trained too long and too well.

To be born in the compound is to feel inferior, to behave as if one is inferior, and in many instances to be trained to function in inferior ways. To Negro teachers to whom they feel close Negro children often express their wonder of why there are fewer and fewer white children, or none of them at all. They feel something must be wrong with them and what they have. Some Negro children who comfortably express themselves to a Negro teacher are non-communicative with a white teacher. One skillful white teacher had several such children in an all Negro class. Toward the end of the year with these sixth graders, while discussing why people don't talk, one regularly silent child spoke out, "Because they are afraid." When the teacher asked how many felt the same way 11 pupils raised their hands. Teachers with similar personalities may evoke differing responses in the same pupil based on the fact that one teacher is white and one is colored.

PERSONALITY IN THE NEGRO COMPOUND

In this context, the Negro ghetto and its accompanying predominantly Negro neighborhood schools can more easily be seen as agents which have adverse effects upon self-esteem, value systems, motivations, aspirations, and behavior of pupils. Such adverse effects prevailing in many students can seriously impair the educational processes in a school despite the presence of excellent teachers and adequate facilities.

Although the gate to the compound in the Northern city is open, few find it. Many have been so trained not to reach out, or to so defeat themselves that they must persistently fail at just those points where constructive changes are possible. Most of them do not believe that the gate is open even when they are told and offered encouragement to walk through. Some who believe have so renounced any capacity for initiative or constructive assertion as to be immobilized and apathetic.

It is for these reasons, as well as for economic ones, that open enrollment plans for improved integration of schools on an optimal basis will not work for those who need it most. It is also unrealistic to leave the burden for change upon Negro parents when basically the American Negro family has been disrupted and made impotent as a source of initiative and purposeful action.

Many Negroes have so internalized into their own thinking and feelings the sense of bondage that it is felt even where external bondage may not exist. While most conscious of the struggle against external discrimination and suppression, Negro participants in the struggle for social change are necessarily throwing off internal bonds of silence, passivity, and compliance. Active demands, open expression, and demonstration function as an important necessary transitional stage in moving from a state of internal and external bondage toward free social participation as a peer group.

SEGREGATION PERPETUATES EXISTING CASTE

The essence of the problem we face is not race and not color. American people, by a coercive slavery system and by miscegenation, grossly altered American Negroes into a group whose characteristics were so shaped as to prevent participation in the American life as defined by the Constitution. What used to be a slave group containing stock from several races has been perpetuated as a low caste servant and labor group, for the most part isolated in its compound. The color primarily helps us to identify the low caste and to know whom we should not touch. When a Caucasian and a Negro can together produce a child who is considered to be a Negro in race, we are dealing with sociological rather than logical thinking. Such thinking is one of many residuals of slave culture days. It ensures that the low caste elements remain clearly defined no matter how intermixed and unrecognizable they become. It also contains the implicit censure that whosoever touches one becomes one.

It is for these reasons that so many white persons and so many middle-class Negroes do not wish "their" schools to have a significant influx of Negro students. It is for these reasons that so many desire not to associate with Negroes in large numbers and will actually reject, impede, or show inaction toward plans for integration. That some white persons flee as if from a plague when Negroes move near them is a product of their life experience and education. Increased integration in education starting at early ages will do much to prevent the emergence of another generation of hurt, frustrated, disillusioned and angry coloreds, and guilty, panic-stricken, perplexed, and angry whites.[14]

Neither words nor pictures nor large amounts of intellectualized information will substantially modify the Negro compound without the corrective emotional experiences of increased integration. Unless the compound is broken up it will go on reproducing its own kind, even as communities of other ethnic groups keep reproducing their own.

Racially imbalanced schools in predominately Negro neighborhoods function therefore as a mold which produces and perpetuates an unfavorable stamp. Although schools in communities heavily populated by other ethnic groups also serve as vehicles for transmitting group characteristics to individuals, the stamp imparted in such schools is more adaptive and more often of positive value.

Education is central in all of this. Certainly slavery was an educational matter as well as a political, economic and moral matter. Perpetuation of a caste is also an educational matter, and modification of a caste finds education at the heart of the process.

EFFECTS OF THE ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON MENTAL HEALTH

The dilemma surrounding segregation and integration encompass far more than social classes, castes, and races. Whenever any agents from previously separate compartments come together and experience conflict, questions arise about conflict resolution by reinforcing the compartments. Some question whether collaboration or peaceful co-existence is possible for disparate and conflicting agents. Furthermore, it seems quite clear that segregation in fact, or under law may at times be useful in the accomplishment of some objectives such as temporary control of dangerous or destructive persons, for example.

It is commonly recognized that segregation may be useful as a method of mastering and controlling something undesirable, threatening, or otherwise posing a problem. Segregation of thoughts and feelings occupies a prominent place in early mental processes. In fact, small children use a segregating method of thinking as a basis for governing their behavior. All things around or within them become viewed grossly in an either/or way, as good or bad, right or wrong, black or white. As they mature the same children develop a capacity to employ segregating mechanisms on a limited and temporary basis in discrete situations where appropriate. Later, segregating tendencies come to exist in dynamic conflict with unifying, affiliative, integrating tendencies within individuals just as they do in social systems. In the most mature personalities integrating tendencies transcend segregating ones.

There is a close interrelationship between the psychological system inside an individual, the family system of which he is part, and the social systems beyond the family. Persons who view things in terms of rigid compartments tend to create and structure the space around them in similar terms. Likewise, children reared in rigidly compartmentalized social systems tend to internalize them and to develop psychological compartments — boxes — which interfere with abilities to relate, to form ideas, and to process feelings.

Because of the endless variables and extreme complexity in the intrapsychic, interpersonal, and wider social fields, this limited discussion will be conducted in abbreviated form. In the community where it exists heavy ethnic group concentration will have the following effects upon mental health:

1. Characteristic group elements will be induced in the personalities of many group members. These will influence problem solving and adaptation in different ways, sometimes facilitating and sometimes complicating adjustment. Since more rigid control and compartmentalization of the environment will sometimes buttress a shaky or poorly organized personality, a subjective feeling of comfort may be produced by segregation. A development confined to a single group often makes possible comfortable relationships with one's group, anxiety or inappropriate behavior in relationships with others.

2. A framework is offered for adolescent group formation. During the period when identity is being determined, roles being clarified, and mating taking place, most adolescents turn toward what they perceive as their own kind. The ethnic group will continue to offer important contributions to the solution of these and other life tasks. Even where ethnic group members are dispersed in the community, a re-grouping according to similar identifications occurs in the social activity of adolescents. This regrouping in adolescence along ethnic lines is not dependent upon a segregated situation.

3. Some antisocial feelings and thoughts which arise in early childhood situations (associated with aggression and hostility toward family members) are reinforced and attenuated. There is a reduction of ability to accept, identify, and relate with individuals in other groups. One is encouraged to view people in categories which emphasize differences rather than similarities between groups. Thinking is conditioned toward concepts of separating and keeping apart, and people learn how to live this way. This may be quite adaptive where one can live in such provincial ways in today's world.

4. A dehumanized view of people is encouraged. Some are seen as sub-human, non-human, or super-human; that is, anything but simply human like oneself.

5. Perception and thought content are strongly limited by the values and codes of one's group. Whatever is not consonant with the group's particular standards can be entertained only with painful conflict or with a sense of disloyalty to one's group. So much may be kept from consciousness or denied that the view of reality may be greatly impaired.

6. Lack of understanding, misunderstanding, and conflict between members of different groups occur.

7. The education provided in the closed setting of a single ethnic group usually emphasizes conformity to a degree, where ties to the group greatly limit individual freedom including freedom of thought and of speech.

8. Opportunity for negotiation and constructive interplay between individuals and their society is reduced.

9. Prejudice and delusions are fostered which support denial of personal inadequacy and projection of criticism outward toward others.

10. There is an absence of suitable social forums for expression, feedback, and corrective intergroup experience.

In summary, while high ethnic group concentration has some effects which are of positive value to mental health, many effects are constricting, or crippling and result in serious limitations. In communities where ethnic groups are dispersed, the existence of religious, social, or other cultural institutions can satisfy community needs for cultural ties along ethnic group lines. Where people are schooled in and living most of their lives in compartments, they will have closed minds without recognizing it. What is alien to their experience will be seen as false, unreal, and unacceptable.

Tendencies to stabilize, control, and fix structure exist in dynamic interplay alongside tendencies to restructure in a free society. A segregated situation interferes with opportunities to restructure, and tends to produce a closed situation with loss of freedom.

Some prevailing patterns of social organization fail to achieve their designated objectives. There is much to suggest that the massive and generalized restructuring of social institutions now taking place requires a preliminary stage in which the old patterns are shaken and unsettled to introduce flexibility where systems have grown insensitive or rigid, thereby making useful changes possible.

With the growing awareness of these circumstances, there has developed an intense search for practical remedies. Such creative innovations as develop under the stimulus of the problems associated with ethnic group concentration will undoubtedly promote the welfare of all groups.

SUMMARY

The effects of ethnic group concentration upon educational process in neighborhood schools is discussed with special reference to the school climate, hidden curriculum, and the unplanned education which students receive from other students. The importance of student interaction, of identification and other psychological processes in the dynamics of the classroom group are stressed.

The effects of ethnic group concentration upon personality formation are described with emphasis upon the steps through which particular characteristics of American Negro personalities were developed under slavery and perpetuated by segregation. Factors are discussed which influence Negroes to form compounds in which existing low caste is perpetuated.

Finally an assessment is given of the part played by public schools in these issues and of the effects upon mental health.

The complex interpersonal relationships and group dynamics which mediate the severe deleterious effects in American Negroes are delineated, and the adverse effects of ethnic group concentration in general upon total community mental health are made evident.

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